

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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A NOTE ON JOHN FORD

It has been customary since the time of Ford's first editors to begin a discussion of his plays with a reference to his lost comedy *An Ill Beginning has a Good End*. Such a treatment appears in Sherman's edition of *'Tis Pity* and *The Broken Heart* (1915), p. vi, in Struble's critical edition of *Perkin Warbeck* (1926), p. 16, and in Ellis-Fermor's *The Jacobean Drama* (1936), p. 310. Sherman and Ellis-Fermor further state that this play was acted at the Cockpit in 1613; and Strubel, following Weber and Dyce, adds that it was "destroyed by Mr Warburton's servant." That there was such a play is certain; it was performed at Court by the King's Men in the season of 1612-13.¹ But since it was the property of the King's Men, it certainly was not acted at the Cockpit, for that company played regularly at their two houses of the Globe and Blackfriars. It was entered S. R. by Moseley, June 29, 1660, along with two other comedies, *The Royall Combate* and *The London Merchant*, as the work of John Forde; but like many of the plays entered by Moseley at this time it was never published. It appears again in the famous list of plays which John Warburton, the Somerset Herald, declared had been "unluckely burnd or put under Pye bottoms" by the ignorance of his servant, Betty Baker. Here, too, it ascribed to Ford under the slightly different title, *A Good beginning may have a good end*.

One might assume, as do the scholars named above, that this double testimony would establish Ford's authorship of this lost play. Unfortunately, however, the character of the witnesses offering this testimony is by no means above suspicion. Moseley's critical judgment, or lack of it, is shown by the fact that among the plays that he registered in 1660 with a view to publication he in-

¹ See Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 180.

cluded such novelties as *The History of King Stephen, Duke Humphrey, a Tragedy*, and *Iphis and Ianthe or a marriage without a man*, all of which he attributed to "Will. Shakespeare," just as earlier, Sept. 9, 1653, he had registered the popular old comedy, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, as "by Wm. Shakespeare," regardless of the fact that it had been reprinted five times before the closing of the theatres without Shakespeare's name on the title-page.

As to Warburton the case is well summed up by Greg, who after an exhaustive study (*The Library*, July 1911) of the curious similarity between Moseley's entries in the S. R. and Warburton's list of plays destroyed by his servant remarks: "I find it extremely difficult to make up my mind as to whether Moseley was a knave or Warburton a liar. Each alternative is intrinsically probable." The truth seems to be, as Greg practically demonstrates, that Warburton's famous list was in the main compiled from Moseley's entries rather than from plays in his own possession. Warburton's testimony to Ford's authorship of the lost play in question may, then, be thrown out of court as little better than hearsay evidence. The same may be said of a second play, *The Royall Combate*, ascribed to Ford by both Moseley and Warburton; *The London Merchant* of Moseley's entry and Warburton's list is probably a mistake for the lost *Bristow Merchant* licensed by Herbert, Oct. 22, 1624, as by Ford and Dekker. A fourth lost play assigned by both Moseley and Warburton to Ford, *Beauty in a Trance*, was, we now know, performed at Court by the King's Men on Nov. 28, 1630.²

To return to *An Ill Beginning*, the only scholar recently who has shown any doubt of Ford's authorship is Harbage, who in his *Annals of English Drama* (1940) sets a question mark after Ford's name in his list of plays produced in 1612-13. I do not know what moved Dr. Harbage to this scepticism, but I believe it is possible to assemble evidence against Ford's authorship strong enough to destroy the shaky claim advanced for him by Moseley and Warburton. The only contemporary mention of this play appears in a payment made to Heminge for six plays presented at Court in 1612-13.³ The list is a most interesting one; it opens with *A Bad Beginning* and goes on with *The Captain* (Beaumont and Fletcher),

² See Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 120.

³ See Chambers, as above.

The Alchemist, *Cardenno* (i.e. the lost *Cardenio*, traditionally ascribed to Shakespeare and Fletcher), *The Hotspur* (i.e. *I King Henry IV*), and *Benedicte and Betteris* (i.e. *Much Ado About Nothing*). Evidently the King's Men were putting their best foot forward in this series of performances with plays by their best authors, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher. *A Bad Beginning*, as it is here called, must have been a very good comedy to have been performed at Court in such distinguished company. Can it have been written by the young and, as a dramatist unknown, John Ford? To me at least it seems more than doubtful.

It happens that we know rather more of John Ford than of many other Elizabethan dramatists. Entered as a student of law in the Middle Temple at the early age of sixteen, 1602, he proved, at least to the rulers of the Temple, an unsatisfactory subject. He was expelled in 1606 for non-payment of "buttery bills," i.e. charges for food and drink, and was only restored on the payment of a fine of forty shillings—no inconsiderable sum at that time—and the expression of "penitence." Later, 1617, he seems to have been involved in a so-called "conspiracy" of the younger members of the society to wear the hats of gentlemen rather than the caps of students at meals and at worship, a demonstration of rebellion against rules which the authorities took quite seriously. His father, who died in 1610, left him a bare £10 in cash compared with £10 a year to John's two younger brothers. It would seem that Ford senior had as good reason to be dissatisfied with his son's legal studies as had Marston's father, who left his son "my law books—whom I hoped would have profited by them in the study of the law but man proposeth and God disposeth." The truth was that young Ford found in the Middle Temple a literary society and atmosphere far more attractive than the study of legal technicalities. He began early to write verse and prose. In the very year of his expulsion, 1606, he published his first poem, *Fame's Memorial*, a long and smoothly polished elegy on the recent death of the great Earl of Devon, Charles Blount, dedicated to the widowed Countess, Penelope, "that glorious star" Ford calls her with evident allusion to her rôle in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*.

The year 1606 marked the visit of the King of Denmark to his brother-in-law King James. Ford took advantage of the festivities which welcomed the royal visitor to rush into print again. His

Honor Triumphant: or the Peeres Challenge is a defense in high-flown and rather precious prose of four propositions: Fair lady was never false, etc., maintained by four nobles of the Court in a tilting on March 24, 1606. It is interspersed with various bits of verse and is dedicated to two noble ladies, the Countess of Pembroke and the Countess of Montgomery, wives of two of the tilters, the "incomparable paire of brethren, William and Philip Herbert." A brief note "to the reader" prefixed to the tract contains a sentiment which probably expresses the ideal of the young author at this time:

Let ladies smile upon my lines, I care not
For idle faults in graver censor's eye.

With this tract is bound up a poem, *The Monarchs' Meeting; or the King of Denmark's Welcome into England*, which ends with an "Applause-Song" evidently designed to be set to music and sung at the first meeting of the Kings, a charming bit of lyric verse. It is interesting to compare this courtly work in prose and verse with the gross reality of the orgies that attended the royal visit so vividly described by Sir John Harrington.⁴

After 1606 there is a pause in Ford's literary activity for some years. A prose tract, *The Golden Mean* by John de la Forde, 1614, has been claimed for him. He was certainly the author of *Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost* (S. R. Nov. 25, 1615), a lost prose tract which Gifford, followed by Ellis-Fermor, apparently mistook for a play or poem. No play on the Overbury case could possibly have obtained a license at the time when the prosecution of his supposed murderers, the Earl of Somerset and his wife, was actually in progress. Moreover, the description of the work in the Registers: "a book called *Sir Thomas Overbury's Ghost, containing the history of his life and untimely death by John Fford, gent.*" shows plainly enough the nature of the work, a timely pamphlet designed to exploit the public interest in the most scandalous sensation of King James's reign. Ford's own interest in the case is shown by a copy of verses *A Memorial to that man of virtue, Sir Thomas Overbury*, prefixed to several editions of that author's posthumous poem, *The Wife*.

It was not until 1620 that Ford once more appeared in print, this time in *A Line of Life*, published by the enterprising Na-

⁴ See the *Secret History of James I*, I, 387.

thaniel Butter. This is a rather heavy ethical treatise dealing with the "Line" which should guide a man, a public man, and a good man, through the maze of life. It is loaded down with quotations from the classics: Plato and Aristotle, Pliny, Plutarch, and even St. Augustine. Its one redeeming feature is a series of examples drawn from the lives of contemporaries: Essex, Biron, and Oldenbarnavelt; a little character sketch of Raleigh breaks off in the middle as if the censor had drawn his pen through Ford's study of the lately murdered Elizabethan hero.

Up to this date, 1620, when he was thirty-four years old, Ford, unlike his contemporaries, Marston, Tourneur, Webster, to say nothing of such a distinguished Templar as Beaumont, had never shown the slightest interest in the theatre. Now, however, there comes a change and Ford turns, almost by accident it might seem, to that form of literature on which his fame depends.

Somewhere about 1620 Ford must have met Dekker, lately (1619) released from a long term of imprisonment and furiously engaged in cobbling up plays for any company that would buy them and with any collaborator who would give him a helping hand. It is easy to believe that Ford, a poet at heart, and, as his later work shows, gifted with a very genuine sympathy for unhappy mortals, should have been attracted to the gifted and penniless Dekker. It must have been Dekker who came to him one day with a pamphlet in his hand telling of the recent trial and execution of a notorious witch. Here was a chance, if they hurried the story into shape for the stage, to sell the players a real catch-penny. Dekker knew Rowley, too, the actor-playwright who acted clown's parts for the Prince's Company. He would join them if there was a good part for him, in fact he could write it himself, and persuade his company to produce it promptly. The partnership was formed; Dekker, Ford, and Rowley worked together and composed *The Witch of Edmonton*. The Prince's Men played it repeatedly with such success that they were called on to show it at Court where it was received "with singular applause." It was the turning of the ways for Ford. Hitherto his courtly prose and verse had attracted little or no attention, but applause at Court for a play in which he had a hand was another matter. He set himself to study stage-craft along with the experienced Dekker; it was some time before he was ready to try his hand again, but in 1624 he and Dekker collaborated on four plays. The first of these, *The Sun's Darling*, licensed in

March of that year, is rather a pageant than a play proper, a "Moral Masque" the title-page calls it, "often presented at Whitehall." The lost *Fairy Knight* was licensed in June; the lost *Murther of the Son upon the Mother, or Keep the Widow Waking*, licensed in September, was a hasty dramatization of a recent matricide incongruously combined with a recent scandalous wedding, in which Ford and Dekker were joined by their former associate Rowley and by John Webster; the lost *Bristowe Merchant* was licensed in October for the Palsgrave's Company. This was probably setting too hot a pace for a gentleman like Ford. At any rate he dropped his connexion with Dekker and for the next four years withdrew, so far as we know, from playwriting. In 1628, however, his *Lover's Melancholy*, licensed in November, was produced by the King's Men with the full strength of the company—seventeen actors' names are printed in the first edition—at Blackfriars, their winter theatre, with such applause that they revived it next summer at the Globe. Ford was so pleased with this success that he promptly gave it to the press; it was published in 1629 with a dedication to a group of friends in the "noble society of Gray's Inn." The prologue implies, if it does not actually state, that this is the author's first unaided play. In 1630 his lost *Beauty in a Trance* was played by the King's Men at Court and in 1632 they produced *The Broken Heart* at Blackfriars. Here was success, indeed, for a playwright who, if not young in years, was after all a beginner in his art. We do not know what led him to break with the King's Men; his remaining plays with the sole exception of the latest, *The Lady's Trial*, were produced by the rival company, which enjoyed the patronage of Queen Henrietta Maria.

This survey of Ford's career as poet, prose writer, and dramatist seems to make it altogether unlikely that he should be the author of *An Ill Beginning*, ascribed to him, as has been shown, on such very dubious evidence. Is it, in fact, conceivable that a young poet, eager as Ford seems to have been for courtly applause, should have composed in 1613 a play good enough to have been presented at Court by the best company in London along with plays by such masters as Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher, and then to have fallen silent for eight years? Or that after such a silence he should have resumed his career as a playwright by collaborating in topical plays for minor companies with such an incompetent and unsuccessful artist as Dekker?

The truth seems to be that *An Ill Beginning* should be struck off the list of Ford's works; it will not fit in at all. Any study of his work as a dramatist must begin with his hesitant collaboration with Dekker and proceed thence to the little group of surviving plays in which he walked by himself and revealed more clearly than most Elizabethan playwrights did, his own puzzled and puzzling personality.

T. M. PARROTT

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THE EPITAPH OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

Great pomp and ceremony marked the burial of Sir Philip Sidney in 1587. The extent and magnificence of his funeral procession rivalled that of royalty. He was mourned by men of every degree and commemorated in the productions of literally hundreds of writers. Yet it is a part of the paradox of his fame that no monument should ever have been erected to his memory.

Sidney's body was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in "the vpper Northeast end of the Isle aboue the Quier by the second pillar."¹ On the pillar above the grave were fixed his crest, coat of arms, and colors, and beneath them a simple tablet of wood bearing an anonymous epitaph.² Probably this crude memorial was placed there at the time of the obsequies or soon thereafter, although there is little evidence to date it.³ In any event, it quickly became one

¹ Thomas Churchyard, *A True Discourse Historicall* (1602), sig. O 2r. Unless otherwise noted, all books cited here were published in London.

² *Ibid.*, sig. O 2v.

³ The earliest reference to the epitaph (see below) is a clear echo in Sir Walter Raleigh's elegy on Sidney, first printed in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), sig. C 1v:

"England doth hold thy lims that bred the same,
Flaunders thy valure where it last was tried,
The Campe thy sorow where thy bodie died,
Thy friends, thy want; the world, thy vertues fame.

"Nations thy wit, our mindes lay vp thy loue,
Letters thy learning, thy losse, yeeres long to come,
In worthy harts sorow hath made thy tombe,
Thy soule and spright enrich the heauens aboue."

Sir John Harington referred to Raleigh's elegy two years before its publication, in his notes to *Orlando Furioso* (1591), sig. L 4v. Thus 1591 is

of the most famous shrines in London. In 1593 John Eliot conducted his imaginary Frenchman on a tour of the principal sights of London, and part of their conversation ran as follows:

Let vs to go to Powles to see the Antiquities.
 Let vs go vp into the Quire.
 Who is buried within this wall?
 It is Seba king of Saxons, who conquered this cuntry of England.
 See what a goodly tombe there is truly. Who is entombed here?
 Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, and sonne to king Henrie the third.
 See there his lance and his target of horne.
 What Epitaph is this?
 Of sir Philip Sidney, the peerelesse paragon of letters and arms.
 Let vs read it I pray you:
 England, Netherlands, the Heauens, and the Arts
 The Souldiours, and the World, haue made six parts,
 Of the noble Sydney: for none will suppose,
 That a small heape of stones can Sydney enclose.
 His body hath England, for she it bred,
 Netherland his blood, in her defence shed:
 The Heauens haue his soule, the Arts haue his fame,
 All Souldiours the greefe, the World his good name.
 Tis great pitie of this yong gentlemans death.
 He is dead, and it is too late to call him from the dead.⁴

And they walk on.

Sidney's epitaph was still one of the sights of the town in 1609, for when Dekker was advising the Gull on "How a Gallant should behaue himselfe in Powles-walkes," he took him first to the top of the steeple, and then,

These lofty tricks being plaid, and you (thanks to your feete) being safely ariud at the staires foote againe, your next worthy worke is, to repaire to my Lord *Chancellors Tomb* (and if you can but reasonably spel) bestow some time vpon y^e reading of *Sir Phillip Sydneys* briefe Epitaph; in the compasse of an houre you may make shift to stumble it out.⁵

the earliest date on which we can be certain of the existence of the epitaph. Its similarity to the elegy just quoted has led some to ascribe the epitaph to Raleigh, although there is no corroborative evidence; see, for example, Mrs. S. M. Davis, *The Life and Times of Sir Philip Sidney*, revised edition (New York, 1875), p. 276.

⁴ *Ortho-Epia Gallica* (1593), sig. x 2^r. This is the first appearance in print of the epitaph.

⁵ *The Guls Horne-booke* (1609), sig. D 3^r.

And although Dekker might poke fun at the attractions of St. Paul's, the epitaph still had power to stir a young man's imagination, as Anthony Stafford showed a few years later.⁶

Sir Francis Walsingham died in 1590 and was buried in the cathedral near his famous son-in-law; like Sidney's, his grave was unadorned with monument. Thomas Bastard found this the occasion for an epigram:

Sir Francis and sir Philip, haue no Toombe,
Worthy of all the honour that may be.
And yet they lye not so for want of roome,
Or want of loue in their posteritie.
Who would from liuing hearts vntombe such ones,
To bury vnder a fewe marble stones?
Vertue dies not, her tombe we neede not raise,
Let thē trust tombs which haue outliu'd their praise.⁷

Bastard was evidently making a veiled reference to the magnificent tomb erected in memory of Elizabeth's unpopular favorite, Sir Christopher Hatton, who died in 1591 and was also buried in the choir of St. Paul's. Of this situation, taking his cue from the epigrammatist, "a mery Poet writ thus," according to John Stow:

*Philip and Francis haue no Tombe,
For great Christopher takes all the roome.*⁸

When Henry Holland covered the same ground in 1614, he had "no doubt but the merry Poet was the merry old man *Stow* himself."⁹

⁶ *Staffords Niobe: or His Age of Teares* (1611), sigs. F 10r-F 11r. Here Stafford ends a long eulogy of Sidney by quoting the epitaph in full and saying, "Lord, I haue sinned against thee, and heauen; and I am not worthy to be called thy childe: yet, let thy mercie obtaine this Boone for me, from thee, that when it shal please thee that my name be no more, it may end in such a man, as was that *Sidus Sydenyorum*."

⁷ *Chrestoleros* (1598), sig. H 1r.

⁸ *A Suruay of London* (1598), sig. T 1r. The couplet was probably widely current, for it is written in a contemporary hand opposite the passage quoted above in the copy of *The Guls Horne-booke* formerly owned by Thomas Corser and now in the Library of Congress. See Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (Manchester, 1860-1883), v, 163. In the same place Corser ascribes the "six-part" epitaph to Walsingham, but he gives no reasons for the ascription.

⁹ *Monumenta Sepulchria Sancti Pauli* ([1614]), sig. C 4r.

But the most ironic paradox of all was the fact that Sidney's epitaph was not original, and that it was not even English to begin with. It was merely a clever adaptation of the epitaph written by Joachim du Bellay for Guillaume Gouffier, Seigneur de Bonnivet, who died in 1525. According to William Camden, Sir George Buc's *Poetica* was the first work to note the source of the epitaph.¹⁰ Some years later John Weever expanded this statement and also quoted Du Bellay's poem.¹¹ A comparison of the French with the English is enough to reveal at once their close similarity.

La France et le Piemont, et les Cieux et les Arts,
Les Soldats et le Monde ont faict comme six parts
De ce grand Bonivet: car une si grand'chose
Dedans un seul tombeau ne pouvoit estre enclose.
La France en a le Corps, qu'elle avoit eslevé:
Le Piemont a le Cœur, qu'il avoit esprouvé:
Les Cieux en ont l'Esprit, et les Arts la Memoire:
Les Soldats le Regret, et le Monde la Gloire.¹²

The anonymous paraphrase remained above Sidney's grave at least until the defacing of the monuments.¹³ Whether it survived until the Great Fire of 1666 is not known. John Aubrey claimed to remember seeing Sidney's leaden coffin after the Fire, but he could recall only scraps of the epitaph.¹⁴

And so one of England's greatest heroes has remained without tangible memorial even to the present day. The old epitaph was right; the memory of Sidney would dwarf a monument of mere stone and bronze. Something of this feeling inspired Lord Herbert

¹⁰ *Remaines of a Greater Worke* (1605), sig. g 3^v. Buc's *Poetica* was never printed, and it is not listed among his works in the *DNB*. Presumably Camden saw it in manuscript. Camden's reference to it has been noted in Dr. Mark Eccles's article on Buc in *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans*, ed. C. J. Sisson (1933), pp. 412-413.

¹¹ *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631), sig. 2E 4^v. Wordsworth knew Weever's account and was duly indignant that Sidney's memory should be so slighted; see his posthumously published "Country Church-yard," in *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1876), II, 49 f.

¹² *Poésies françaises et latines de Joachim du Bellay*, ed. E. Courbet (Paris, 1918), I, 138 f. Du Bellay had first written a Latin version which is less close to the English; *ibid.*, I, 531.

¹³ William Dugdale, *The History of St. Pauls Cathedrall* (1658), sig. 2F 1^r. Dugdale says his description is as of 1641.

¹⁴ *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clarke (Oxford, 1898), II, 249 f. Aubrey was writing about 1680.

of Cherbury to write the most graceful of all the poetic tributes, designed to be fastened on the door of St. Paul's:

Reader,
Within this Church Sir *Philip Sidney* lies,
Nor is it fit that I should more acquaint,
Lest superstition rise,
And Men adore,
Souldiers, their Martyr; Lovers, their Saint.¹⁵

WILLIAM H. BOND

The Folger Shakespeare Library

JONSON'S *THE SAD SHEPHERD* AND SPENSER

In the realistic and satiric dramatic fragment, *The Sad Shepherd*, Ben Jonson scornfully disregards most of the conventions associated with pastoral drama. Various derived or invented, two motives of the play seem to owe a modest debt to Spenser, whose poems were not generally pleasing to Jonson.¹

The first passage concerns the lustful and startlingly lifelike swineherd Lorel, who clumsily woos the maiden Earine. This is a commonplace situation deriving ultimately from the wistful overtures of Polyphemus to the sea-nymph Galatea, in Theocritus' Idyll 11; and his editors² have recognized Jonson's familiarity with this famous poem. Two Renaissance analogues have been cited. W. W. Greg³ suggests the analogous situation, also probably from Theocritus, in Drayton's *Polyolbion* (21. 61 ff.) involving the giant Gogmagog (a mountain) and the river nymph Granta. First noted by F. G. Waldron,⁴ a scrap of direct para-

¹⁵ *Occasional Verses* (1665), sig. E 3r.

¹ See *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, ed. David Laing (London, 1842), pp. 2, 9, 12; and *Timber*, ed. Felix E. Schelling (Boston, 1892), p. 57.

² For parallels cf. Wm. Gifford's ed., *The Works of Ben Jonson*, reprinted with supplementary notes by Col. Francis Cunningham, London, 1875. Jonson may have remembered, too, that Ovid (*Met.*, 13) retells the Greek story (cf. Whalley's edition of Jonson, 1756).

³ Cf. his standard edition of *The Sad Shepherd*, in *Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* (Louvain, 1905), p. 86.

⁴ Waldron's continuation of *The Sad Shepherd* together with his notes on Jonson's part appeared in 1783; Greg includes both Jonson and Waldron.

phrase from Spenser's *Shepherd's Calender* appears in Lorel's boasted possessions (II, ii, 600-603):

An aged Oake the King of all the field,
With a broad Beech there growes afore my dur,
That mickell Mast unto the ferme doth yeild (*sic*).
A Chestnut, whilk hath larded money a Swine . . .

Plainly this is recollected from Spenser's "February," 103 ff.:

A goodly Oake . . .
Whilome had bene the King of the field,
And mochell mast to the husband did yielde,
And with his nuts larded many swine.

Apparently, then, "some verses of Spenser's *Calender*, about wyne, betweene Coline and Percy" ⁵ were not the only ones which Jonson had "by heart" in spite of his professed strictures.⁶ And in a passage to be considered presently the *Calender* appears again as Jonson's model.

But pursuing the episodes involving Lorel and his family, one may note further Spenserian reminiscences, not paraphrases of the *Calender*, but plot devices common to the *Florimel* story in the *Faerie Queene*. Lorel, the uncouth lover, was chiefly inspired by the Cyclops of Theocritus, and Jonson's own knowledge of witch lore accounts for much of the dialogue involving the machinations of Lorel's witch mother, Maudlin. Yet in view of Jonson's immediate familiarity with "the grave the diligent Spenser," the following comparison is presented for what it is worth.⁷ All the analogies

⁵ *Conversations*, p. 9.

⁶ For Aeglamour's vow to carve his revenge in trees, turf, and stones (*S. S.*, I, v, 291-295) Gifford (*op. cit.*, p. 493) compares *Colin Clout*, 634 ff., as "the particular object of Jonson's imitation."

⁷ Waldron seems to have concluded that Jonson followed the *Florimel* story, for the continuation commences with a Spenserian passage detailing Lorel's naive gifts (15 ff.):

"Look, I ha' brought ye wildings [i. e., crab apples] fra' the wood,
And callow nestlings ta'en while the dam sought food . . . for tho' I
pipe fu' well,
Fit for thine ear I canna' sing mysel;
But ye sall hear these sing, gif ye think meet,
Yer praise, deft lass, in chirps and carrols sweet.
And here's a gaudy girlond for yer locks."

are commonplace; their conjunction in both works may not be a coincidence.

The argument of *The Sad Shepherd*, Acts II and III, clarifies the action relevant to the Florimel story of Spenser:

"The Witch *Maudlin*, having taken the shape of *Marian* to abuse *Robin-hood* . . . glorying so farre in the extent of her mischiefe, as shee confesseth to have surpriz'd *Earine*, strip'd her of her garments, to make her daughter appeare fine . . . in them; and to have shut the maiden up in a tree, as her sonnes prize, if he could winne her; or his prey, if he would force her. Her Sonne a rude bragging swine'ard, comes to the tree to woo her . . . and first boasts his wealth to her. . . . Then he presents her guifts, such as himselfe is taken with, but shee utterly showes a scorne. His mother is angry, rates him, instructs him what to doe the next time, and persuades her daughter, to show her selfe about the bower: tells her, how shee shall know her mother, when she is transformed, by her broidered belt . . . (Act III). After which, *Douce*, entring in the habit of *Earine*, is persued by *Karol*; who mistaking her at first to be his Sister, questions her, how shee came by those garments. . . . The sad Shepherd comming in the while, shee runs away affrighted. . . . *Aeglamour* thinking it to be *Earines* ghost he saw, falls into a melancholique expression of his phansie . . . *Robin* suspecting her [the witch, who appears as *Marian*] to be *Maudlin*, lay's hold of her Girdle sodainely . . . and he returnes with the belt broken . . . the Witch bids him [*Lorel*] assist a work . . . of recovering her lost Girdle; which shee laments the losse of, with cursings.

These three motives—the primitive wooing, the magic girdle, the disguise—appear with variations in the *Faerie Queene*:

During her sojourn in the witch's cottage Florimel is wooed by the son, who proffers gifts from the forest (3. 7. 17). She escapes, is pursued by a beast sent by the witch, and in her flight loses her magic belt, a symbol of virtue. With this Satyrane binds the beast (3. 7. 36), who returns with it to the witch (3. 8. 2); the girdle is later found by Satyrane (3. 8. 49) and in Book Four it reappears conspicuously as a coveted prize. To comfort her son, distraught by the loss of Florimel, the witch creates a snowy Florimel and decks her in the garments left behind by the true maiden (3. 7. 9). In this disguise false Florimel not only deceives the amorous

Cf. Spenser's "lewd lover" (3. 7. 17):

"Oft from the forest wildings he did bring . . .

And oft young birds, which he had taught to sing

His mistress' praises sweetly carolled.

Garlands of flowers sometimes for her fair head . . ."

Professor Alwin Thaler cites Spenser's character as a plausible original of Shakespeare's Caliban ("Shakespeare and Spenser," *S.A.B.*, x (1935), 192 ff.; see pp. 203-204).

son but all those who had known her true counterpart (4. 2 and 4). But, unable to bind the girdle about her waist, this witch's figment is prevented from winning the badge of chastity (4. 5).⁸

Written after *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Sad Shepherd* contains Jonson's farewell blast at the Puritans. As pastoral church satire the passage is peculiarly interesting. Greg aptly observes that the famous lines from the play "might of course be paralleled from a great variety of writers."⁹ To Gifford's quotation from Jones's *Adrasta* (1635)¹⁰ Greg adds Quarles' *Shepherd's Oracles* (1646), not as a source, but as another instance of pastoral satire directed at the Puritan party. G. Gregory Smith¹¹ remarks that Jonson's "attack on the Puritans [in *The Sad Shepherd*] . . . has all the dignity of counter-protests in *The Shepheard's Calendar* and *Lycidas*." Yet Spenser's Puritan attacks upon the Anglicans have not been studied as the possible original of the passage from *The Sad Shepherd*.

Jonson's theme is superimposed upon the action of the play as a brief digression as Robin Hood thus chronicles the rustic delights of the June season (I, iv, 211 ff.):

Why should, or you, or we so much forget
The season in our selves: as not to make
Use of our youth, and spirits, to awake
The nimble Horne-pipe, and the Timburine,
And mixe our Songs, and Dances in the Wood,
And each of us cut downe a Triumph-bough.
Such were the Rites, the youthfull *Iune* allow.

Clarion. They were, gay Robin, but the sowrer sort
Of Shepherds now disdaine in all such sport:
And say, our Flocks the while, are poorely fed,
When with such vanities the Swaines are led.

⁸ Tasso's famous witch, Armida, dons a girdle when she wants to entice lovers (cf. *Jerusalem Delivered*, 16. 24-25).

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ Misquoted by Greg from Gifford, the lines should read:

"The curious preciseness
And all-pretended gravitie of those
That sought these ancient harmlesse sports to banish,
Have thrust away much honesty."

¹¹ *Ben Jonson*, English Men of Letter Series (London, 1919), p. 207.

Tuck. Would they, wise *Clarion*, were not hurried more
With Covetise and Rage, when to their store
They adde the poore mans Eaneling, and dare sell
Both Fleece, and Carkasse, not gi'ing him the Fell. . . .

Lionel. O Friar, those are faults that are not seene,
Ours open, and of worst example beene.
They call ours, *Pagan* pastimes, that infect
Our blood with ease, our youth with all neglect;
Our tongues with wantonnesse, our thoughts with lust,
And what they censure ill, all others must.

Robin then recalls an earlier, happier age (255-256):

Those charitable times had no mistrust.
Shepherds knew how to love, and not to lust.

This is the manner and matter of Spenser's satire in the *Calendar*, particularly of "May." Here Palinode, who corresponds to Robin, recounts the joys of this season (10 ff.):

Yongthes folke now flocken in every where,
To gather May bus-kets and smelling brere:
And home they hasten the postes to dight . . .
I saw a shole of shepehardes outgoe
With singing, and shouting, and jolly chere:
Before them yode a lusty Tabrere,
That to the many a Horne-pype playd,
Whereto they dauncen, eche one with his mayd. . . .
Tho to the greene Wood they speeden hem all,
To fetchen home May with their musicall.

Like *Clarion*, the sober Piers casts a damper upon the cheer (39 ff.):

Those faytours little regarden their charge,
While they, letting their sheepe runne at large,
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
In lustihede and wanton meryment. . . .
That playen while their flockes be unfedde . . .
But they bene hyred for little pay
Of other, that caren as little as they
What fallen the flocke, so they han the fleece.

Or as in "July," line 189, Thomalin repeats the charge,

They han the fleece, and eke the flesh.

Then the accusations of Lionel and Friar Tuck recall the bitterness of Diggon, in "September" (82-86 and 134-135):

Or they bene false, and full of covetise,
 And casten to compasse many wrong emprise:
 But the more bene freight with fraud and spight,
 Ne in good nor goodnes taken delight,
 But kindle coales of conteck and yre . . .
 Yet better leave of with a little losse,
 Then by much wrestling to leese the grosse.

To which Hobbinal rejoins (136-139):

Now, Diggon, I see thou speakest to plaine;
 Better it were a little to feyne,
 And clearly cover that cannot be cured:
 Such ill, as is forced, mought nedes be endured.

Finally, in the manner of Robin's retrospection, Spenser's shepherds recall the days of plenty and innocence. Piers, for example, thus rebukes his companion ("May," 103 ff.):

The time was once, and may againe retorne . . .
 When shepeheardes had none inheritance . . .
 But what might arise of the bare sheepe . . .
 Well ywis was it with shepheards thoe.

All in all, the evidence seems to show that Spenser contributed hints for *The Sad Shepherd*. In the motive of the witch family these are mainly commonplace devices which Jonson took over and varied to suit himself; the Puritan passage repeats the manner and much of the language of Spenser's attacks upon Anglican abuses.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF SPENSER'S "HOUSE OF ALMA"

After the clearing of this particular well of English, so skillfully performed recently by Vincent Foster Hopper,¹ perhaps I should hesitate to muddy these same waters by reference to an inferior interpretation of the twenty-second stanza of the House of Alma. I believe, however, that the earliest explication of the passage should be noted. On April 26, 1636, there was entered in the Sta-

¹ Vincent Foster Hopper, "Spenser's 'House of Temperance,'" *PMLA*, LV, 958-967.

tioner's Register a work by William Austin, a Lincoln's Inn barrister, which was printed under the title *Haec Homo; wherein the Excellency of the Creation of Women is described, by way of an Essay*. The popularity of this little discourse is attested by three posthumous printings in successive years: 1637, 1638, 1639. The printing of *Haec Homo*, therefore, antedates by some seven years the issuing of Digby's *Observations*, which has heretofore been considered the earliest commentary on Spenser's passage. Since Austin, who himself had died in 1634, states in a marginal gloss that Spenser had been dead over thirty years, it seems evident that *Haec Homo* must have been written at least around 1630.² Although none of Austin's works was published during his lifetime, he apparently passed copies around among his friends, a group which included James Howell and Edward Alleyn.³

At other points in the *Haec Homo* there appear various references to the House of Alma,⁴ but in particular there are about seven pages given over to a discussion of Spenser's geometrical proportions of the body, complete with illustrations. William Austin's solution of the problem of this stanza is apparently a combination of the two interpretations noted in the *Variorum Spenser*: namely, the mystical one, and the literal one which refers the explanation only to the dimensions of the body.⁵ In chapter five of his work, Austin examines the form of the human body, especially the female body, which must be excellent because God gave his own form to it.⁶ The exact architecture of this building, however, may be questioned: it may be square, triangular, round, or in the shape of the letter H. Austin believes that all of these conformations fit the human body, which actually "is made in *all the Geometricall* proportions, that are, or can be imagined." Just as the units of measure are derived from the various dimensions of the human body (feet, inches, digits, cubits, etc.), so the body may be made to conform to all figures. For illustration, Austin discourses upon four figures: the square, the triangle, the circle, and the astronomi-

² P. 79. If the gloss were entered by the printer, Austin's book may be much earlier.

³ DNB.

⁴ See pp. 94-97.

⁵ Edmund Spenser, *Works*, ed. Greenlaw, Osgood, and Padelford, *The Faerie Queene*, II (Baltimore, 1933), 472-485 (Appendix XI).

⁶ The larger discussion, which I have quoted or paraphrased, appears on pages 72-84.

cal figure of the twelve houses. Austin points out that if the body stands upright, with the feet together and the arms stretched out "in the manner of a *Crucifix*," the result is a perfect square,—the distance between the tips of the middle fingers being equal to that between the top of the head and the feet.⁷ This construction, according to Austin, is a geometrically proportioned square, "which was the *form* of the *Temple*, and of the *mysticall Church*, in the *Revelation*." Similarly, without moving the body, draw lines from the tips of the fingers to the feet, and a triangle is produced, "which is a *figure* of the *Trinitie*." And if the arms be dropped a little, and the legs stand straddling, the navel serves as the center of a circle formed by the tips of the fingers, the toes, and the head, "which is a *true figure* of the *Earth*." Finally, with the body remaining in this position, raise the arms stiffly until the tips of the fingers are at the same height as the head, and the design is a "true form of the *twelve houses* of the *seven Planets* in Heaven."

Austin significantly continues with the remark, "All which *discourse* concerning the *severall proportions* of the body, are very elegantly and briefly contracted, by the *late dead Spencer*, in his *everliving Fairy Queene*." Whereupon the entire twenty-second stanza is set down as proof, although it is printed as prose. Immediately following occurs the statement that in the geometrical art these proportions "signifie things both *divine* and *humane*." Austin then goes on to say that although the Roman H is perhaps the hardest letter for a single individual to reproduce, it is very simple for a man and woman to make this one letter by joining hands in marriage, making "their eaven, *Heaven*."

It is important to note that among those geometrical figures which William Austin relates to the House of Alma is to be included that of the twelve houses of the planets. Apparently Austin believes that the numbers seven and nine refer in some way to the astronomical configurations. He thus agrees with the later interpretations of John Upton, which were silently elaborated by G. W. Kitchin. No comment is made upon the passage, other than that already given; Austin does not attempt to explain the remaining parts of the stanza. In accordance with Austin's treat-

⁷ Cf. Henry Morley (as printed in the *Variorum Spenser*, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-482) on the dimensions of the body. Hopper refers us also to *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. and trans. by Edward MacCurdy (New York, 1938), I, 219-226.

ment, however, it appears that the line "Nine was the circle set in heavens place" is evidently a reference to the spheres of heaven (or to the ninth heaven itself, as Upton has it). The reply of Mephistopheles to Dr. Faustus' question as to the number of the spheres is pertinent: "Nine, the seven planets, the firmament, and the imperial heaven,"⁸—the firmament being the sphere of the fixed stars, while the imperial heaven is more commonly called the *primum mobile*. It would follow, then, that the line "All which compacted made a goodly diapase" would be a representation of the music of the spheres.

Although William Austin has presented us with an interesting set of illustrations, it could be wished that a man who was living at the time Spenser died might have given a more adequate and comprehensive explication of so esoteric a passage.

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ACT III OF LEWIS'S *VENONI*

When M. G. Lewis's three-act melodrama *Venoni, or, the Novice of St. Mark's*, his adaptation of Jacques Marie Boutet de Monvel's *Les Victimes Cloîtrées*, was first produced at Drury Lane Theatre on December 1, 1808, Acts I and II were well received, but the third act failed. Lewis soon remedied the trouble by rewriting the last act. In the first edition of *Venoni*, published the following year, Act III appears in its successful, revised form, but is followed by Lewis's "Advertisement":

In justice to the French Author, I think it right to add the Third Act, as it originally stood—It was evidently not so well adapted to the English taste, as the one which I substituted; but still partiality for my own production does not prevent my thinking the original design infinitely the best of the two.¹

Next follows a section, occupying fifteen pages, entitled "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT," depicting a gloomy, unchanging scene of two dungeons separated by a thick wall. The immured hero and

⁸ Apparently Austin considers this square to be Spenser's *quadrante*.

¹ M. G. Lewis, *Venoni, or, the Novice of St. Mark's* (London, 1809), p. [87].

heroine, divided by the wall and unaware that they are neighbors, indulge in over thirty alternate speeches before Venoni, completing the work of a former prisoner, breaks his way through to Josepha's cell; the action ends happily when friends arrive to set the couple—and the audience—free.

Because of Lewis's "Advertisement" and the heading "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT," the dungeon scene is assumed to be the third act of *Venoni* as originally performed at Drury Lane.² Clearly this cannot be accurate, for a contemporary review of the first performance states that a masquerade—of which there is no trace in this appended section—was introduced at the beginning of Act III and was "hissed throughout two scenes."³ Indeed, if we may accept as a fairly reliable guide to the actual performance the MS. of *Venoni* submitted to John Larpent, the licenser of plays,⁴ we find surprising differences between the dungeon scene—the so-called "ORIGINAL THIRD ACT"—and the first stage arrangement of Act III.

The licenser's MS. of the third act as first performed opens not with the dismal prison setting but with "*An illuminated Ball room (Maskers discover'd) Dancing &c GLEE at the end of the Glee The Viceroy & Marquis come forward in earnest conversation.*" These two briefly discuss Venoni's predicament, the Marquis retires, and the Viceroy turns to his sister with forced gaiety. He unwittingly puts his finger upon one probable cause of the failure of the first performance when, with reference to the prolonged emotional strain he has undergone in the previous act, he utters the aside, "This interview with Venoni has totally unfitted me for rendering the honours of a Scene of mirth." After further music and dancing the scene closes, and a second opens with the direction: "*An Anti-chamber (Lively Musick) as if proceeding from the Ball room Maskers &c &c cross the Stage Serv^{ts} hurry backwards and for-*

² For instance, see John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* (Bath, 1832), VIII, 118.

³ *Monthly Mirror*, N. S., IV (Dec., 1808), 375.

⁴ *LA 1561*, Larpent Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library. Pressmarks of this collection now consist of the prefix *LA* and the numbers in *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library*, compiled by Dougal MacMillan ("Huntington Library Lists," No. 4, San Marino, 1939).

wards with refreshments &c." The next two pages of the MS., chiefly comic dialogue,⁵ are followed by

MUSIC &c without) [Teresa:] Hark! what's all that noise?—a whole Crowd of Maskers are coming this way! Oh! now I understand—they are following the two little Gipsies, whose Musical talents and skill in fortune telling, have furnished the best part of the Entertainment So. here they are!—*Enter Two Gipsies followed by Maskers &c.*

A spirited duet and chorus and a not very comic speech by Teresa fill the next two pages. Then, after a page of exposition,⁶ we read the interesting direction: "*As they [Benedetto and Father Michael] go off the Musick in the Ball room is again heard—the lively air imperceptibly changes to a melancholy Strain. The Stage is darkened gradually.—The Scene then Changes to the interior of two Vaulted Dungeons.*" The remainder of the MS. corresponds to the passage appended to the published drama under the misleading title "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT." Thus what has been accepted by readers as the complete third act as originally performed proves to be merely the closing scene of that act. The failure of the first night's performance of *Venoni* probably was due not only to the ludicrous dungeon scene, but also to the excess of irrelevant light entertainment—the ballroom scene, maskers, gipsies, dancing, singing, and comic dialogue—which interrupted the plot and demanded of the audience a difficult emotional readjustment.

Lewis did not confuse final act and final scene deliberately. In the "Preface" (p. [v]) to the published play he states: "On the first night of representation the two first acts were well-received; the last was by no means equally successful, and the concluding scene operated . . . strongly on the risible muscles of the audience." Here "concluding scene," meaning the appended dungeon scene, is accurate. In thereafter heading it "THE ORIGINAL THIRD ACT" he had reference to the French play, for Lewis's dungeon scene is a reasonably faithful translation of the final act of *Les Victimes Cloîtrées*. To be unambiguous he should have called the appended passage "The final act (Act IV) of the French play, used as the closing scene of the final act (Act III) of *Venoni* as originally performed."

⁵ Retained, with slight changes, in the published revision: *Venoni*, pp. 67 ("Enter BENEDETTO . . .")-69 (" . . . unaccountable!—[going.]").

⁶ Also retained, with slight changes, in the published revision: *Venoni*, pp. 69 ("FATHER MICHAEL rushes . . .")-71 (" . . . this instant —").

So much for the early form of Act III. The Larpent MS. contains also the licenser's MS. copy of Act III as revised. A comparison of this copy of the revised act with the printed text of Act III of *Venoni* will dispel two more errors. Lewis's "Preface" implies, and his biographer unqualifiedly states, that Act III in its later form was entirely new;⁷ yet more than one fifth of the published text of Act III is contained in the MS. of Lewis's *original* version. Moreover, his words regarding the revision, that he "composed the last act, as it now stands" and that "With this alteration the drama was received with unqualified applause,"⁸ lead one to expect a rather close correspondence between the published text of Act III and the licenser's MS. of the revision, which latter presumably approximates the stage arrangement. Actually, the MS. of the revision differs widely from its published form. More than one third of the printed text of Act III is absent from the MS. of the revision; on the other hand, the published text lacks the ball-room scene, which had opened the act in its early form and which is called for again in the MS. of the revision. Though one expects, of course, to find some variation between licenser's MS. and printed copy, discrepancies as great as these serve to emphasize the danger of relying upon the published form of a play—of Lewis's period, at least—for a record of its stage presentation.

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INTOXICATING GRAPES

One of the later accounts of the discovery of America by the Norsemen of Leifr Eiríksson and which for this reason has frequently been held less trustworthy,¹ the *Grönlendinga Þáttr*, con-

⁷ *Venoni*, pp. [v]-vi; Mrs. Baron-Wilson, *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis* (London, 1839), II, 58.

⁸ *Venoni*, p. vi.

¹ The many internal contradictions and startling improbabilities of this account were pointed out by Halldór Hermannsson, *The Problem of Wine-land* [*Islandica* xxv], Ithaca, N. Y., 1936, pp. 37 ff. To the present writer this author seems however to go much too far in his strictures, since the *Þáttr* is obviously of composite character, and many of the absurdities pointed out are the result of a clumsy putting together of heterogeneous materials by a none too skilful and quite ignorant compiler.

tained in the Flateyrbók, relates the following curious episode:²

One evening it happened that there was a man missing out of their company, and it was Tyrke the Southern man. Leif was mighty ill-pleased, for Tyrke had been long with him and his father; and had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. Leif chid his crew sharply, and made ready to go out to seek him, and twelve men with him. But when they were come a short way from the hall, there was Tyrke walking towards them, and he was welcomed gladly. *Leif soon saw that his foster-father was overcome.* He was steep-faced and rolling-eyed, tiny-faced, small of stature, and miserable to look at, but a clever man in all kinds of skill of hand. Then Leif spake to him: "Why wast thou so late, my foster-father, and left behind by the rest of the company?" Then he first talked German for a long time, rolling his eyes all ways, and making faces, but they could not make out what he was saying. Then after a time he spake in Northron speech, "I had not walked much farther than you, but I have something new to tell: I have found vines and grapes."—"Is it true, foster-father?" says Leif. "Indeed it is true," quoth he, "for I was born where there was no lack of vines or grapes."

As is well known, the newly discovered country was called "Wineland" because of this abundance of wild grapes.

The sentence underlined in the foregoing passage is rendered differently by various translators.³ Of the many commentators of the text, Fridtjof Nansen was neither the first nor the last to suspect that, in the opinion of the unknown sagaman, Tyrke was plainly drunk;⁴ E. Mogk⁵ had come to a like conclusion before him, and Gathorne-Hardy⁶ voiced the same view after him.

On the other hand, the eighteenth century translator of the text, D. Mallet,⁷ calls Tyrke merely 'exalted,' without venturing a guess

² Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell, *Origines Islandicae*, Oxford, 1905, II, 601.

³ To give a few examples: N. L. Beamish, *The Discovery of America by the Northmen*, London, 1841, p. 67: "not in his right senses"; A. M. Reeves, *The Finding of Wineland the Good*, London, 1895, p. 66: "in lively spirits"; F. R. Stock, *Deutsche Rundschau f. Geographie u. Statistik*, XXII (1900), p. 295: "aufgeregt"; W. Hovgaard, *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America*, New York, 1914, p. 87; "queer"; Gathorne Hardy, *The Norse Discoverers of America*, Oxford, 1921, p. 43: "in good spirits"; Langlois, *La découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands vers l'an 1000*, Paris, 1924, p. 61: "très en gaîté."

⁴ Fridtjof Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, New York, 1911, II, 4.

⁵ *Mitteilungen des Vereins f. Erdkunde*, 1892, p. 73.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

⁷ *Northern Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1809, I, 240 f.

as to the cause of this exaltation. In the present century, Paul Herrmann⁸ took a like 'neutral' view of the matter; but Prof. Richard Hennig⁹ thought the subject sufficiently important to reproach Nansen with having done violence to the text which, according to the German scholar, does not even state that Tyrke had eaten of the berries. He apparently assumes that the German sailor was satisfied with the modest rôle of a modern visitor of a horticultural exhibition, and he attributes his excitement solely to his unmeasured joy at beholding grapes and being reminded of his childhood home. This view carries little conviction; for in the sagaman's mind Tyrke's tardiness in returning home was evidently due to his discovery and its obvious consequences, namely, the understandable avidity with which that sailor, having for weeks past enjoyed only ship's food, glutted himself with the berries. Again, to use Gathorne-Hardy's apt remark, while Tyrke's speaking German, which happened to be his native tongue, would probably not be considered proof conclusive of his drunkenness at Bow Street, yet to ascribe (as Hennig does) his strange behavior, many hours (as we must reasonably suppose) *after* his discovery, to his excitement alone is even less plausible. There can be little doubt about the fact that the sagaman believed him, to use a scriptural expression, "full of new wine."¹⁰

Since it is manifestly impossible to become intoxicated from eating ripe grapes, the episode has tended to discredit the trustworthiness of the entire account of the discovery of America as embodied in the *Pátttr*. Yet such an extreme scepticism is hardly justified. Certainly, the sagaman was ignorant of the true nature of wine, the result of a fermentation process. On the part of Icelanders and Greenlanders of that remote period such ignorance is excusable enough.¹¹ The present writer, when in France, met an Arab from Tunisia who seriously believed that high test gasoline was coming out of American oil wells. But quite apart from such general considerations, it should be pointed out that we are dealing with a

⁸ *Island in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1907, I, 106.

⁹ *Von rätselhaften Ländern*, München [1925], p. 194.

¹⁰ The Norse text: *Leifr fann þat brátt, at fóstura hans var skapgott* (cf. Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 147), is of little help, the word *skapgott*, translated by J. Fritzner (*Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, III, 286) with "vel tilmode," being to all appearances a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*.

¹¹ Cf. also the judicious remarks of Gathorne-Hardy, p. 253.

literary motive the presence of which in the *Pátr* tends to show that, unlike a knowledge of realistic industrial processes such as wine-making, certain novelistic themes spread very easily from country to country, even in that far-off period.

Nansen was the first, it seems, to explain this story by the assumption of Irish literary influences. In particular, the *Imram Maelduin* makes mention of an island "where there were many trees, like willow or hazel, with wonderful fruit like apples, or wine-fruit, with a thick large shell," the juice of which "had so intoxicating an effect that Maelduin slept for a day and a night after having drunk it." His companions subsequently filled all their vessels with the juice, which they pressed out of the fruit, and left the island. They mixed the juice with water to mitigate its intoxicating and soporific effect, as it was so powerful.¹²

Since fruits of this description are as rare in Ireland and the surrounding isles as they are on this side of the Atlantic, the question arises: Where did the author of *Maelduin's Voyage* find the motive?

In Sindbâd's fifth voyage we are told how the hero falls into the clutches of the Old Man of the Sea, who most unceremoniously uses him as a riding beast. The story then goes on to relate how one day he finds raisins, which he presses out, letting their juice ferment. The wine thus obtained promptly communicates to him a light-heartedness and vigor which the Old Man cannot but notice. He accordingly conceives a desire to partake of the mysterious drink. Becoming intoxicated, he loosens his grip and is easily thrown off and killed by Sindbâd.¹³

In this narrative one cannot help admiring the perseverance of the hero who, with the old man on his back all the time, finds enough leisure to pick the berries, to press them, and to subject their juice to fermentation. In reality we are dealing with the 'doctored' account of a rationalist who, noticing the absurdity of a man getting drunk on grapes, thought it necessary to introduce these processes into a story which in its original form knew nothing of them.

This conclusion is borne out by a version first told by Ya'qub ben

¹² H. Zimmer, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, XXXIII (1889), p. 168; P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1898, p. 156.

¹³ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VII, 21; cf. René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris, 1924-27, I, 190 ff.

Ish'aq es Sarrâdj, who was the source of the geographer Qazwîni (thirteenth century of the Christian era). I here reproduce his text from the French version of René Basset;¹⁴

While walking about on this island, I found a large number of trees with all sorts of fruit and in their branches very beautiful men. I sat down near them, no more understanding their language than they understood mine. While I was thus sitting, one of them put his hand on my shoulder and suddenly jumped on my back, twisting his legs around me and making me get up. I shook myself to throw him off; but he scratched my face, and I ran around the trees with him. He picked their fruits, ate some and threw the others to his companions, who caught them laughing. As I was walking around with him, the branches of the trees cut his face and blinded him. Then I took some grapes, crushed them with a stone, and drank the juice, intimating to him that he should do so likewise. He did so; then his legs loosened their grip, and I threw him off; but I still bear the traces of his claws on my face.

Oriental influences on the Irish *imrama* have been pointed out repeatedly. Thus the whale in the *Navigatio sancti Brendani* appears to be a lineal descendant of the whale in Sindbâd's first voyage.¹⁵ The city of laughers in the *Imram Maelduin* and in the *Echtra Brain maic Febail* has its analogues in Oriental fiction,¹⁶ and so has the city of weepers in the *Imram Maelduin* and the *Imram curaig UaCorra*.¹⁷ We shall therefore not be far wrong in assuming the migration of an Oriental theme to Ireland and, finally, to Iceland, some time in the course of the eleventh or the twelfth century.

As was pointed out above, such an assumption, contrary to the view of Nansen, does not detract from the historical value of the story. Tyrke may very well have existed and shared the honor of the first discovery of America: the ubiquitous Teuton is certainly not a product of modern times; we find him in Denmark, in Norway, and in Iceland as early as the tenth century, sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a trader, and occasionally (as in our tale) as a simple adventurer. Nor is there anything improbable in his

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; El Qazouini, *Athâr el bilâd*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, pp. 20 f.; cf. J. Ansbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister und wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Qazwîni's Kosmographie*, diss. Erlangen, 1905, pp. 31 f.

¹⁵ Chauvin, VII, 7; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index J* 1761. 1.

¹⁶ Zimmer, *Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, 171 and 260; Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Tabari, *Chronique*, trad. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1867-74, I, 48.

¹⁷ Zimmer, *Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, pp. 160 and 188; Joyce, p. 137; Chauvin, V, 242; G. Jungbauer, *Märchen aus Turkestan und Tibet*, Jena, 1923, p. 150.

recognizing, in the New World, the golden fruit of *Vitis vinifera*. No doubt he was the only member of the ship's crew capable of such an identification. The fact that the sagaman did a little romancing, by furnishing a practical demonstration of the absolute correctness of the identification, does honor to his literary craftsmanship, if not to his botanical and chemical knowledge.

Our theme was too good not to survive the middle ages. We meet with it again in the *Terre Australe*, an imaginary voyage written by one Gabriel Foigny and published in 1676. In that novel we are told that the inhabitants of that land of bliss lived on fruit, the most delightful of these being those gathered from the Tree of Bliss. By eating four of them, one becomes excessively gay; by eating more, one falls asleep, never to wake up again.¹⁸

What is even more curious is that in the eighteenth century our theme turns up again in connection with North America. Several of the descriptions of that continent mention bears, which are said to climb the branches of vine trees and to feed on their grapes,¹⁹ in one account with much the same effect as that noticed in Tykke by his companions.²⁰

Quite true, these writers may not be taken too seriously either as eye-witnesses or as literary artists. But shortly after came a true prince of letters, the noble viscount of Chateaubriand, who did not disdain to reproduce this feature in the prologue of his *Atala*²¹ and who, in his *Génie du Christianisme*,²² saw fit to defend it

¹⁸ G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1934, p. 198.

¹⁹ François-Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, Paris, 1744, 3 v. in 4°; Jonathan Carver, *Travels in the Interior Parts of America*, London, 1778, 1779, 1784, 1 v. in 8°; William Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country . . .*, Philadelphia, 1791; London, 1792; Dublin, 1793, 1 v. in 8°; cf. Joseph Bédier, *Etudes critiques*, Paris, 1903, p. 197, n. 1.

²⁰ Gilbert Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, London, 1792, reprinted in New York, in 1793, republished in London, in 1797, quoted by Chateaubriand, *Génie du Christianisme*, Paris, 1880, t. II, p. 415. On Imlay cf. Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand*, Paris, 1918, p. 87, n. 1.

²¹ "De l'extrémité des avenues on aperçoit des ours enivrés de raisin, qui chancellent sur les branches des ormeaux."

²² *Loc. cit.*

against carping critics by quoting the travellers who had preceded him in the New World.²³

What should be noted is that this is only one out of many features in a larger conception, that of North America as a land of plenty, a sort of 'pays de Cocagne,' a conception prevalent in the writings of the Jesuits of the seventeenth century.²⁴ The reason is, obviously, that the mediaeval tradition about such a land beyond the Atlantic continued alive and died gradually only after the true nature of Canada became known as a result of the French colonization in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Whether or no Chateaubriand was sincere in professing to believe his authorities does not matter much. We know that, while *Euarctos americanus*, like *Homo sapiens* may fall a victim to alcohol, neither one of the two can succumb by merely eating ripe grapes. The apparent absurdity of these accounts finds its explanation in the assumption that the Oriental theme lived on in Europe down to the end of the eighteenth century, to be utilized by romancing travellers of Washington's time in much the same manner in which it had been used, some 600 years previously, by Scandinavian sagamen. But its presence in the accounts referred to has led no one to doubt the reality of the voyages of those eighteenth century travellers.

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THE DATE OF PROLOGUE F TO THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN

Now that Miss Lossing has refuted the arguments for including the *Lai de Franchise* among the sources used by Chaucer in his Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*,¹ it remains to reconsider the question of the date at which this Prologue was composed.

²³ Cf. Chinard, *L'exotisme américain*, pp. 244 f. It is to be noted that the critics were quite wrong in doubting the fondness of bears for grapes or their ability to climb trees (cf. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, ed. Timothy Cloran, New York [1911], p. 90); what they had good reasons to doubt was the effect of the grapes.

²⁴ Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, p. 129.

¹ Marian Lossing, "The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women and the *Lai de Franchise*," *Studies in Philology*, xxxix (1942), 15-35.

Previous to the appearance of Lowes's study scholars were generally agreed in assigning the earlier version of the Prologue to the year 1385. But even after giving due weight to Lowes's arguments the only apparent reason for postponing the date until 1386 is the supposed dependence on the *Lay de Franchise*. When this is once set aside it becomes obvious that 1385 is the more likely date in view of the shifting political relations then existing between England and France.

During the Spring of 1384 negotiations were begun for a treaty of peace between France and England. Among the commissioners sent from England to Boulogne in Picardy to carry on the negotiations was John of Gaunt. Deschamps himself was also sent to Boulogne in the Spring of 1384, where he remained during the progress of the negotiations, paying a visit to Calais during this period in the company of Chaucer's friend Oto de Graunson. It was probably during August or September, 1384, when Deschamps and John of Gaunt were both at Boulogne that the French poet wrote his PHELIPPE ballade (No. 765) in honor of the Duke of Lancaster's daughter Philippa.² The negotiations continued until September 14; and the most favorable season for an exchange of literary amenities would appear to be during this protracted period of friendly association between the English and French envoys. However, the negotiations did not succeed in establishing peace, but merely resulted in an extension of the truce until May 1 of the following Spring. And by April 30, 1385, when the truce expired, the English commissioners returned to England; and on the following day, May 1—the very day that Deschamps presented his *Lay de Franchise* before the French court—hostilities between France and England were resumed. From that date until the Spring of 1386 the political situation, as Lowes has shown,³ made any literary communication between France and England virtually impossible.

Professor Kittredge was the first to point out the significance of Chaucer's references to the Flower and Leaf debate (Prol. F 68-83 and 187-196) in their bearing on his literary relations with Deschamps. "Curiously enough," he observed, "all the editors of Chaucer have overlooked four poems by Eustache Deschamps which are of the first importance in the illustration of the Prologue to the *Legend*. They stand together in the authoritative manuscripts

² Lowes, *PMLA.*, xx, 760.

³ *PMLA.*, xx, 762-764.

of the works of Deschamps and may very well have been written at about the same time."⁴ Citing the fact, already familiar to literary historians, that Deschamps sent some of his works to Chaucer, begging him, "to receive his 'euvres d'escolier' graciously, and to send him something of his own in return," Professor Kittredge advanced the plausible suggestion: "If the manuscript which Deschamps sent to Chaucer contained the poems on the Flower and the Leaf, may not Chaucer have replied by sending him the *Legend*, so far as it was ever completed?"⁵

Lowes was well acquainted with the article by Kittredge; indeed, he made it to a considerable extent the basis of his own study. But he mentions Deschamps' Flower and Leaf poems only incidentally and concentrated attention instead on his *Lay de Franchise*, although Professor George L. Marsh in an article published in 1906 pointed out that in the *Lay de Franchise* Deschamps "nowhere even mentions the leaf or hints at the strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The word *feuille* does not occur in the poem, except as applied (in l. 45) to the petals of the flower; and there is not the remotest suggestion of an allegory of the Flower and the Leaf."⁶

It is obvious, therefore, that in considering the exchange of compliments between Chaucer and Deschamps we must return to the four Flower and Leaf poems cited by Kittredge. These are Nos. 764, 765, 766, and 767. One of them (No. 766) is a rondeau addressed to "tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac" (in this case not a woman but the French King's councillor and chamberlain) and the other three are ballades. No. 765 is the PHELIPPE ballade in honor of John of Gaunt's daughter. Lady Philippa is here referred to as residing in Lancaster, and inasmuch as she embarked with her father for Spain in July 9, 1386, this ballade, as Kittredge observes, must have been composed before this date, "and it may have been written several years earlier, for Philippa was in her twenty-eighth year at the time of her marriage [to the King of Portugal, Feb. 2, 1387]."⁷ According to Lowes's own view, cited above, it was probably written during August or September, 1384.

Though the precise dates of Deschamps' Flower and Leaf poems cannot be ascertained, there is good reason to believe that all of them were composed during the period of the truce, and conse-

⁴ *Mod. Phil.*, I, 3.

⁵ *Mod. Phil.*, I, 6.

⁶ *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 135.

⁷ *Mod. Phil.*, I, 4.

quently at a time when their transmission to England would have encountered no difficulty. On the other hand, as Lowes recognizes, "at the actual time of the composition of the *Lay de Franchise* [May 1, 1385] opportunity for it to reach England seems wanting."⁸

Lowes, who in seeking the occasion for transmitting Deschamps' "euvres d'escolier" to Chaucer centered his inquiry on the *Lay de Franchise*, looks to the period *after* May 1, 1385, whereas if we follow Kittredge's suggestion that it was some of Deschamps' Flower and Leaf poems which were sent to Chaucer, the most favorable opportunity would appear to be during the later months of 1384, when John of Gaunt, Oto de Graunson and Deschamps were consorting together at Boulogne and Calais.

One must consider also the movements of Lewis Clifford, the messenger by whose hand the poems were transmitted. It was hardly possible for Clifford to have carried to England a copy of the *Lay de Franchise* written for the fête of May 1, 1385, since at that time he seems already to have been in Wales. At least we have record on May 4 of Philip Bluet "staying on the King's service with Lewis de Clifford, constable of Cardigan Castle in South Wales."⁹

This setting back of the exchange of amenities between Deschamps and Chaucer to the later months of 1384 has an important bearing on Miss Margaret Galway's recent proposal¹⁰ to identify the Alceste of the *Legend of Good Women* with Joan of Kent, widow of the Black Prince and mother of Richard II—an identification which would offer a thoroughly satisfactory solution for what had remained a perplexing problem for Chaucerian commentators. However, in her argument in support of this proposal Miss Galway was confronted by a serious chronological difficulty through her acceptance of Lowes's view that the *Lay de Franchise* served as a source for Chaucer's poem. For Princess Joan died on August 7, 1385, and if Chaucer did not receive Deschamps' "euvres d'escolier" until after May 1, to suppose that his Prologue, with its complimentary references to the poets of France and its fervid devotion to his sovereign lady, was composed in the three-month interval before the death of Princess Joan, seems difficult if not impossible. Miss

⁸ *PMLA.*, xx, 761-2.

⁹ Quoted by Lowes, *PMLA.*, xx, 761.

¹⁰ "Chaucer's Sovereign Lady," *MLR.*, xxxiii (1938), 145-199.

Galway struggled with the problem (p. 159, note 3), but the crowded chronology which seemed to be required by her proposal continued to be an obstacle to her identification so long as it was assumed that Chaucer depended on the *Lay de Franchise*. But with the breaking down of this assumption the way is left open for the recognition of Princess Joan as Chaucer's sovereign lady in the *Legend of Good Women*.

It will thus be seen that when Miss Lossing's conclusions and Miss Galway's are placed in connection they supplement each other. Miss Galway, by identifying the Alceste of Chaucer's Prologue with Joan of Kent, who died August 7, 1385, casts further doubt upon the argument that Chaucer used the *Lay de Franchise*, composed for the fête of May 1 in the same year. And Miss Lossing, by relieving the crowded chronology which this use of the *Lay de Franchise* would necessitate, has removed the only serious difficulty encountered by Miss Galway's very plausible proposal to identify Chaucer's sovereign lady as Princess Joan.

CARLETON BROWN

A NINETEENTH CENTURY "POETIC" PREFIX

Students of English are aware of the origin of the prefix *a-* in such words as *afoot*, *aground*, *ablaze*. It is a worn-down, proclitic form of the OE preposition *on* or *an*, which, in West Saxon, absorbed the preposition *in*, and which came to be attached to a number of substantives. It appears in OE in the full form in such phrases as *on weg* 'away,' *on life* 'alive,' *on slāpe* 'asleep,' and as a reduced preposition in *awēg* 'away,' *ābūfan* 'above,' *āriht* 'aright.' On the analogy of forms like these many new words were created in ME and MnE, such as *atop*, *ahorse*, *amain*. Moreover, since the same stem often appears in the verb as in the noun, the prepositional prefix was freely attached to many verbal forms, producing, as Jespersen points out, a sort of participle without *-ing*; thus, *the room is ablaze* = 'blazing,' *aglow with enthusiasm* = 'glowing,' *to be adrift* = 'drifting.' In words of this kind the prefix has the meaning of 'on,' 'in,' 'at,' 'with,' or 'in a condition or state of.' Syntactically, the word may be an adverb ('they went far *afield*'), an adjective—usually in a predicate construction—('he was *aglow* with enthusiasm'), a preposition ('*atop* the waves,' Hawthorne,

1868), a conjunction ('in the evening, *afore* he came,' Bible, 1611), or even a substantive ('to speak an *aside*').

The form under consideration is to be distinguished from other sources of the prefix *a-* in MnE, such as OE *ā-* as in *abide*, OE *and-* as in *along*, OE *of* as in *amornings*, French *à* as in *amort*, Norse *á* as in *alee* 'on the lee side,' Latin *ad*, Greek *α*, and other originals. In the Oxford Dictionary the construction is labelled '*a* preposition'¹ to distinguish it from other *a-* prepositions and *a-* prefixes. From the point of view of MnE these distinctions are not always valid. Thus, in MnE the *a-* in *adown*, *athirst*, *afresh*, *aquake* is not felt to be different from the *a-* in *aback*, *agaze*, *afire*, *ashiver*; yet the prefix in the first set of words is derived from an older *of* or *at*, and in the second from an older *on*. The number of words, however, derived from sources other than OE *on* which fell together with words derived from OE *on* having the same meaning and function, is not very large.

Earlier students of the language were not generally agreed on the character or history of the form. Ben Jonson, for example, regarded it as a preposition, pure and simple, and wrote it as a separate word.¹ Wallis thought it was a shortened form of the word *at*.² Many eighteenth century compilers of spelling books confused it with the article *a* and with other forms.³ Johnson, Walker, and Sheridan followed Wallis. Webster seems to have been seriously puzzled by it. In his *Dissertations* (1789) he says that it is an abbreviation of either *one* or *upon*.⁴ In his *Dictionary* (1828), however, after giving the correct explanation, he goes on to suggest that it might also be a contraction of the "Celtic *ag*, the sign of the

¹ Ben Jonson, *The English Grammar*, ed. Strickland Gibson (London, 1928), p. 59. "A hath the force of governing before a noun. 'And the Protector had layd to her for manners sake that she was a *Councell* with the Lord Hastings to destroy him.' . . . Likewise, before the participle present, [A] *An* hath the force of a gerund . . . [as in] *a brewing, an hunting*."

² *Joannis Walisii Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, 1st ed. 1653 (London, 1765), p. 86.

³ Cf. for example, Thomas Dilworth, *New Guide to the English Tongue* (London, ?1740), p. 111.

⁴ Noah Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language* (Boston, 1769), p. 216. Webster seems to have been much impressed with Horne Tooke's theory of particles. Cf. also Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

participle of the present tense . . . as in *a saying, a going*.”⁵ Lowth, and the grammarians generally, explained it correctly as a form of the preposition *on*, “a little weakened by familiar use and quick pronunciation.”⁶

If we examine the words showing this construction in the Oxford Dictionary, limiting our investigation to words in which the prefix is clearly derived from an older *on*, we shall observe certain facts in regard to its prevalence and use in recent times which throw an interesting light on the poetic technique of some nineteenth century poets. We must, however, exclude consideration of the use of the prefix *a-* in participles ending in *-ing*, as in *abuilding, astanding, awanting, ahuckleberrying* (Thoreau, 1854). In this construction the *a-* may be prefixed to almost any verb beginning with a consonant, in a kind of informal, more or less dialectal speech. The use of the *a-* prefix with verbs without *-ing*, however, is decidedly limited. It occurs with a small number of monosyllables and dissyllables, most of which are, as we shall see, distinctly “poetic” in character.

Of the 270 main words listed in the Oxford Dictionary as clearly derived from an older *on* plus a substantive or verbal form, or from an obvious analogical creation, no less than 110 occur for the first time in the nineteenth century. Of the remainder, about 60 are described as archaic or dialectal, or are preceded by the distinctive dagger sign indicating that the form is obsolete. There remain thus only about 100 “live” forms that antedate the nineteenth century. The data obtained from the Oxford Dictionary may be supplemented with material from the New Standard and Webster’s second edition (1934). If we add the 60 words listed in these two dictionaries illustrating this construction as limited above, our totals would then be about 170 recent *a-* words as against 110 “live” forms before the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, it would be rash to suppose that these words are all actually recent creations. There is good evidence for believing that some of the words under discussion existed before the nineteenth century, either in the dialects or in some other form of non-standard speech. One of the facts revealed by a study of the citations given

⁵ Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, 1828), I, s. v. *a-*.

⁶ Robert Lowth, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (London, 1763), p. 65.

in the Oxford Dictionary is the relative paucity of eighteenth century illustrations of these words in literature. In some words for which eighteenth century citations are given, the full form with *on* appears in place of the *a*- prefix. For many words, moreover, there are no citations at all from the seventeenth century—or earlier—to the nineteenth. This is true of such words as *acrook* 1881, C. Rossetti (previous citation, 1583); *aflame* 1798, Coleridge (previous citation, 1555); *agape* 1855 (previous citation, 1667); *aknee* 1805, Southey (previous citation, c. 1300); *anight* 1830, Tennyson (previous citation, 1600); *aroar* 1836 (previous citation, 1644); *aswim* 1870, Morris (previous citation, 1663); *athrong* 1881 (previous citation, c. 1300); *awork* 1858, Browning (previous citation, 1600); *awrack* 1845, Hood (previous citation, 1627); and many others.

The paucity of eighteenth century illustrations may be ascribed to the temper of the period, which was distinctly unfriendly to archaic, dialectal, and all "irregular" forms of speech. Lowth implies that the words *aboard*, *ashore*, *afoot*, are permissible in "familiar use and quick pronunciation," though he prefers the full forms with *on*, *in* or *at* in the "solemn style."⁷ Ash, in his *Dictionary* (1775), lists a number of *a*- words, but he also limits their use to the "familiar style." Some he describes as "affected by poets."⁸ Pegge regards these words as vulgarisms,—“strong Londonisms,” he calls them, “which extend southward of the metropolis.”⁹ Other orthoepists too, label the prefix as “improper,” or describe it as “retained by the vulgar.”¹⁰ Johnson, Sheridan, and Walker give only a few of these words, and those without comment. It seems fair to assume, therefore, that some of the words which appear for the first time in nineteenth century literature may have existed in colloquial or dialect speech earlier, but were unrecorded in literary documents.

Another point to notice in connection with these *a*- words is the

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁸ John Ash, *A New Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1775).

⁹ Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language*, 2d ed. (London, 1804), p. 175.

¹⁰ Cf. Sterling A. Leonard, *The Standard of Correctness in English Usage 1700-1800* (Madison, 1929), p. 70. See also William Toone, *A Glossary and Etymological Dictionary*, 2d ed. (London, 1834).

fact that while the pre-nineteenth century forms are frequently composed of the prefix *a-* plus an adjective or adverb (*ahigh, afore*), as well as a noun or verb, the nineteenth century forms are almost invariably compounded of the prefix plus a noun or verb, chiefly the latter. Nares makes the observation that the letter is "no longer prefixed to nouns."¹¹ Though the statement is not, strictly speaking, correct, it serves to indicate that late eighteenth and early nineteenth century writers on language felt the second element in *a-* words to be a verb rather than a noun.

A large proportion of the nineteenth century words occur for the first time, according to the Oxford Dictionary, in the works of the poets. Moreover, the number of poets is rather limited: about 45 or 50 out of the 110 words recorded in the Dictionary come from ten poets of the period. The more interesting of these words follow. Browning: *abloom, adangle, aflicker, ahunt, ajoint, aripple, ashiver, asparkle, asprout, astare, atingle, ayelp*; Mrs. Browning: *adeep, adusk, amutter, apinch, ashake, asnot, astrain, athrob, atremble, awaste, awatch, awave*; Morris: *achill, agallop, anigh, asway*; Swinburne: *aflower, aflush, asmoulder, aswarm*; Coleridge: *agasp, aglow*; Tennyson: *agrin*; Ruskin: *achime*; J. D. Long, translator of the Aeneid: *aglint, adroop, asweat*; S. Dobell: *adream*; Lowell: *agleam, aridge*; Dowden: *aseethe, aswing, awane*; E. Arnold: *awink*. Some of these words are obviously nonce-creations, having no real currency in the language; most of them, however, are fairly common words.

Another fact to be observed is that of the *a-* words listed in the Oxford Dictionary as appearing first in the nineteenth century, an appreciable number consist of *a-* followed by a dissyllabic stem containing a liquid *l* or *r* in the final syllable, a fact which seems to point toward the "poetic" character of these words. A few illustrations follow: *achatter* 1828, *adangle* 1855, *aflower* 1876, *aflutter* 1830, *agallop* 1830, *aglimmer* 1860, *agliter* 1865, *amutter* 1856, *aquiver* 1883, *aripple* 1855, *ashiver* 1840, *asimmer* 1849, *asmoulder* 1880, *asparkle* 1840, *atingle* 1855, *atremble* 1856, *atumble* 1801, *atwitter* 1838, *awobble* 1881. For only two words of this type does the Dictionary record illustrations earlier than the nineteenth century: the obsolete *awallop* = *agallop* c. 1350, and *astraddle* 1703.

¹¹ Robert Nares, *A Glossary, or Collection of Words, Phrases, Names, etc.* (London, 1822), s. v. *a-*.

Webster (1934) has a number of words of this type not recorded in the Oxford Dictionary, all inferentially of recent origin: *abristle*, *adazzle*, *aflicker*, *ajangle*, *aprickle*, *asaddle*, *ashimmer*, *aslumber*, *asniffle*, *atangle*, *ateeter*, *atinkle*, *awiggle*. These words, it would seem, are genuine recent additions to the language. At the very least, they may be said to have attained only recently recognition as elements of the standard language.

A third and final point emphasizing the echoic, and therefore poetic character of these words is the fact that a very large number of those which are recorded as appearing first in the nineteenth century begin with such consonant clusters as *bl-* (*ablare*, *ablow*), *dr-* (*adream*, *adrip*, *adroop*, *adrowse*), *fl-* (*aflare*, *aflicker*, *aflush*, *aflutter*), *sm-* (*asmear*, *asmoke*, *asmoulder*), *spr-* (*aspread*, *asprawl*, *aspring*, *asprout*), *sw-* (*aswell*, *aswing*, *aswirl*). Altogether some 80-odd out of the 110 words recorded in the Oxford Dictionary begin with these consonant clusters.

To sum up: the number of *a-* words, as limited above, increases markedly in the nineteenth century. A large proportion of these words are either poetic in origin or fancied by the poets. This is particularly true of *a-* words followed by a monosyllable or a dissyllabic stem having an *l* or *r* in the final syllable.

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BODMER ÜBER KLOPSTOCK UND DEN JUNGEN WIELAND

Als der Dichter des *Messias* im Februar 1751 von Bodmer schied, ahnte dieser nicht, daß ihm demnächst ein neuer Klopstock beschieden sein sollte. Anfang August erhielt er von Wieland die Handschrift des *Hermann*, und darauf eröffnete sich ein reger Briefwechsel zwischen dem Kritiker und dem jungen Dichter. Erhalten sind uns aus der ersten Zeit Briefe Wielands an Bodmer vom 4. August, 29. Oktober, 20. Dezember 1751, 19. Januar, 4. Februar, und 6. März 1752. Auf Grund der in den Briefen gemachten persönlichen Mitteilungen Wielands, sowie der gelegentlich übersandten Gedichte schreibt Bodmer am 27. März 1752 an Hagedorn den folgenden bisher ungedruckten Brief aus meinem Besitz:

Zürch den 27 Merzen, 1752¹

Hoch und Wol Edelgebohren

Hochgeschätztester Herr und Werthester Freund.

Ich sende diese Zeilen durch Einschluß an Hn professor Gellert, sie sollen allein für einen avisbrief dienen das ich Ihnen durch die Meßleute ein päkchen sende, worin—Noah,² Rachel,³ die Beurtheilung des Noah,⁴ sind. Nebst einem so langen und so vermischten briefe, daß er mehr den Nahmen eines *Ana* verdient. Auch habe meine übersetzung von Parnells⁵ Hermiten beygelegt, die Ew. Hochedelg. geweiht ist. Besagte lange *Ana* lassen mir nichts übrig Ihnen weiter zu sagen. Das vornehmste darinn ist, daß die vorsehung mir einen neuen Klopstok geschenkt hat, einen Menschen von ungemeinen gaben, und dem redlichsten Herzen. Er heißt *Wieland*, ein jüngling von 19 Jahren. Seine frischlustige Gelehrsamkeit ist erstaunlich; sein Hang zu der philosophie, sein tiefsinniges Forschen nach Weisheit und Wissenschaft, sein philosophischpoetisches naturell werden von nichts übertroffen, als von seiner standhaften liebe zur tugend, die über alles geht. Er hat in der zartesten Jugend eine sehr moralische und ernsthafte auf-führung, und eine starke liebe zu der Einsamkeit; woran aber wol der mangel an vertrauten jugendlichen freunden von geschmack und *genie* vornehmlich ursache sein kann. Wenn ich bedenke, was er für ungemeine gaben, und was für ein redliches Herz ihm die gütige vorsehung gegeben, und wie gut sie ihn bisher geführt hat, so kann ich zuversichtlich hoffen, daß der Himmel mit ihm etwas großes vorhabe.

¹ Ein Doppelblatt weißen Papiers, in Quart, zweiseitig beschrieben. Als Wasserzeichen dient eine Art Fleur-de-lis mit Krone. Das Siegel mit den Buchstaben *H B* ist erhalten. Auf der vierten Seite die Adresse: *A Monsieur Monsieur de Hagedorn Secrétaire de la Compagnie angloise à Hambourg*. Dazu der Vermerk: *Empfangen den 2. May, 1752*.

² *Der Noah*. In *Zwölf Gesängen*, [Motto aus Pindar. Olymp. ix.] Zürich, bey David Geßner, 1752. Titel, 414 Seiten, in Quart.

³ *Jacob und Rachel: ein Gedicht in zween gesängen*. [Griechisches Motto] Zyrch Bei Conr. Orel und Compagnie. MDCCLII. Titel, 60 Seiten, in Quart.

⁴ *Beurtheilung des Noah*: im Briefe vom 18. März an Hagedorn berichtet Bodmer: "Es gehört zu meiner Kirchenbusse, daß ich Ihnen in eine arbeit blösse, die *beurtheilung des Noah*, sehen lasse. Die dinger liegen sonst in einem tiefen Inquisitionsgewölbe an der Ketten. Ich kann schier glauben die Hn. Tscharnner stehn beständig in dem Gedanken, ihre Critik sey ganz begründet, und es sey eine blosse gefälligkeit gegen mich, und keine sorgfalt für ihren Critischen ruhm gewesen, daß sie das schriftchen nicht publik gemacht haben. Aus dieser ursache habe ich desto weniger bedenken gehabt, Eu. HochEdelg. das Ding, wiewohl sub *sacra fide silentii* zu zeigen. . . ." Anscheinend wurde die Tscharnnersche Schrift nie gedruckt.

⁵ *Der Eremit*, von Dr. T. P. Hamburg, bei Carl Samuel Geisler. 1752. 4 Bll. in Quart, ohne Seitenzahlen.

Ich bitte sehr den brief, den ich die freiheit nehme hier für Hn. Klopstock einzuschließen, nach Kopenhagen zu befördern.

Ich habe das päkchen in Leipzig eben dem Hn professor Gellert zur ferneren bestellung an Ew. Hochedel. mittelst Hn Bohn^{*} übergeben lassen. Der Herr Kitt, durch welchen ich ehemals dergleichen pake befördern lassen, ist nicht mehr in Leipzig. Wenn Sie darum, mein wehrtester Herr, künftig etwas an mich abzugeben belieben, so würde schier das beste seyn daß Sie es gleichfalls dem Hn professor Gellert zustellen liessen. Ich schreibe Ihm, daß er dergleichen sachen dem Verleger[†] des Noah oder dem Verlager der Rachel, oder andern die ihre geschäfte auf der Messe thun, oder Hn Fischer im Wollenhof, zur bestellung überliefern müste. Ohne diese vorsorge, und, wenn sie etwa hiesigem buchführer Heidegger übergeben würden, kämen sie in gefahr, aufgehoben zu werden; oder über Zürich hinaus nach Bern oder Geneve zu laufen. Ich habe die Ehre meinen wehrtesten Herrn auf das freundschaftlichste zu umarmen und unveränderlich mit aller Hochachtung zu verbleiben

Ihrer Hochedelg.

gehorsamstergebenster Diener

Bodmer.

P. S.

Ich habe auch Hn Bohn eine so genannte nöthige nachricht zur bestellung an Ew. HochEdelg. zugesandt, die mir in die Hände gefallen ist, und mit deren *Communication* ich nichts anders im Sinne habe, als denselben ein moralisches Abentheuer bekannt zu machen. Darum bitte ich auch daß sie das ding unter dem schlüssel behalten.

Der "lange und vermischte Brief," auf welchen dieses Schreiben vom 27. März vorbereiten sollte, wurde mir freundlichst von Bernhard Seuffert nachgewiesen. Er befindet sich in der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, und trägt das Datum: Zürich den 18. März, 1752. Er ist ohne Adresse; auch sind die acht Quartblätter, woraus er besteht, nie gefaltet gewesen, eben weil der Brief in einem größeren Pakete versandt wurde. In dem wirklich "vermischten" Briefe werden u. a. besprochen: Bodmers *Noah* und dessen Kritiker; Stokhausens Briefsammlung; Pope; Young; Milton; Klopstock; Wieland; Eberhard Friedrich von Gemmingen; Chr. N. Naumann; Schönaich; Tscharnier; der deutsche Hexameter; Parnells *Eremit*; ein geplantes Heldengedicht auf den Tod Rolands in Ronceval. Hier sollen nur diejenigen Stellen ausgehoben werden,

^{*} Johann Carl Bohn, Hamburger Verleger, bei dem unter anderm Hagedorns *Poetische Werke* 1757 erschienen.

[†] Der Verleger des *Noah* war David Geßner; der Verleger der *Rachel* war Conrad Orel.

an denen Bodmer von Klopstock und Wieland redet. Die erste Erwähnung Wielands findet sich auf der vierten Seite:

Itzt ist mir erlaubt Ihnen den Nahmen des zweiten des jüngeren Klopstocks zu entdecken. Er heißt *Wieland* und ist eines pastors sohn in Bibrach bei Augspurg. Er allein ist der verfasser des lobgesangs auf die liebe, des lehrgedichtes von der Natur der dinge, und des neuen Hermanns, der aber noch nicht gedruckt ist. Er kennt die tiefen Leibnitzens wie die Geheimnisse der poesie, er hat so viel tiefsinn als Witz, so viel Munterkeit, als gute nützliche belesenheit. Er hat auch eine Fanny, und er liebet sie mit Klopstocks Empfindung⁹ und wird von ihr wieder geliebet. Er redet und denkt von Klopstock und von der Messiade mit einer solchen Ehrfurcht, daß er sich ein gewissen machet, fehler bey ihm zu sehen. Er hat mir auch schon Oden auf seine Fanny, die er Diotima nennt, geschickt. Ich halte ihn freilich in der poesie für keinen Klopstock, wiewol einige ihn noch für etwas ernsteres halten, aber ich glaube doch daß er so etwas werden kann. Er lebet in Tübingen, welches nur 2-3 tage von mir entfernt ist. Die Vorsehung hat mir den starken verlust, den ich durch die weite Entfernung des ersten Klopstock gelitten habe, sehr angenehm mit diesem zweiten ersetzt. Ich bin für das glück dieses letztern gar nicht bekümmert, denn ich sehe ihn überflüssig mit solchen gaben versehen, welche auf ein Universitäts Catheder gehören. Es wird dem guten Jünglinge, denn er hat erst 19 Jahre, zwar nicht an Hindernissen fehlen; denn wiewol er seine natur der dinge nur für die ausführung einer *Hypothese* giebt, die er mit allen Rechten der poesie ausgeschmückt hat, so wird man ihm sein Werk doch für philosophischen Ernst aufnehmen, und sich in Leibnitzens—beleidiget halten. Der *Herr* wird für ihn vorsehung thun. Welche undankbarkeit gegen die vorsehung, die für den dähnischen Klopstock so *ungewünscht* und ungehoffet gesorgt hat, wenn ich die geringste unruhe wegen des Glückes des schwäbischen¹⁰ bezeigete! Schwabenland hat noch einen solchen, der sehr stark in Hn von Kleists fußtapfen tritt, es ist ein Freiherr von Gemmingen, Kammerherr bei dem Herzoge von Württemberg.

Auf der sechsten Seite des Briefes, nach Naumanns *Nimrod*,¹⁰ kommt Bodmer auf Schönaichs *Hermann*¹¹ zu sprechen:

⁹ Nach *Empfindung* stand ursprünglich: *und Wehmuth*, welches gestrichen und ersetzt wurde durch die am untern Rande nachgetragenen Worte: *und wird von ihr wieder geliebet*.

¹⁰ *schwäbischen*: darnach gestrichen: *hätte*.

¹⁰ *Nimrod ein Heldengedicht in 24 Büchern*, von Christian Nikolaus Naumann, war kurz vorher anonym erschienen; vgl. Goedeke III, 374, 108; Holzmann und Bohatta III, No. 6876.

¹¹ Schönaichs *Hermann, oder das befreyte Deutschland, ein Heldengedicht. Mit einer Vorrede ans Licht gestellet von Joh. Chr. Gottscheden*, Leipzig, 1751. Die von Bodmer gelobte Zeile steht auf Seite 50, als 29. Vers des 4. Buches. Auch in dem unten erwähnten Briefe vom 25. März., 1752, an Gleim, (vgl. Anm. 16) macht Bodmer eine ähnliche Bemerkung.

Im Schönaichischen *Herman* wird wol die beste Zeile seyn:

Kind du weißt daß mich der König seines ruders würdig hält.

Dieses sagt *Gismund*, und ich halte nicht ihn allein sondern *Marbod* und *Hermann* und *Thusnelden* des Ruders würdig. Nichts vom verfasser und lobredner zu sagen. Wielands *Herman* wird mit diesem sehr artig abstechen; insonderheit wenn er noch mehr ausgeläutert wird. Dieser junge Mensch arbeitet mit ungewöhnlicher fertigkeit, welches ich aber für kein lob gebe; das mag ein lob seyn, daß ungeachtet dieser Schnelligkeit die sachen recht gut gerathen; das äusserlichste ausgenommen, dem er doch alle tage mehr Muße gönnet. . . .

Auf Seite 10 des Briefes wird Klopstock erwähnt:

Ich habe im vorigen Monat einen angenehmen brief von Hn. Klopstock empfangen. Der brief ist voller schertz, und ich schliesse daraus, daß Hr. Kl. vergnügt lebe, wiewol er mir zugleich schreibt, daß sehr wenige herrn so viel Deutsch verstehn, daß er ihnen vorlesen könne. Ich kann doch nicht anderst als den Ort für eine Art gefängnisses ansehen, wo ich niemand, und mich niemand versteht. Ohne zweifel wird Er diesen frühling mit dem könig nach Deutschland kommen, zum wenigsten werden sie die freude haben ihn zu sehen. Mich befremdet, daß er Ihnen die Geschichte seiner poesie nicht erzählet hat; hier hat er¹² davon umständliche Nachrichten gegeben. Sie zweifeln, ob der Hexameter sich zur Satire schike: Herr Klopstock hat gar eine *Choriambische* Ode geschrieben, welche starke satyrische züge hat. Er verspricht mir auf Ostern etliche stücke vom Weltgerichte zu schiken. Die geschichte vom Weltgericht, welche der auferwekte Messias dem Adam erzählet, kömmt zwar erst in dem 11. oder 12ten Gesang: aber dieser Theil seines gedichtes liegt dem Poeten so stark im sinne, daß er ihn vor den andern ausarbeiten will, und kein Wunder, *in hoc vegetat*.

Auf Seite 16 kommt Bodmer nochmals auf Wieland zurück:

Den Augenblick werde ich von meinem Wieland mit einem artigen geschenke erfreuet. Es ist wieder ein gedicht, welches er diesen winter verfertigt hat, Zwölf moralische briefe;¹³ und vor den briefen eine ode, die mit dem Verse aufhöret:

Kaum empfandest du mehr Klopstock da du zuerst Bodmers armen entgegen kamst.

Ihre HochEdelgeb. haben im siebenten briefe eine stelle bekommen die sie nicht fühllos blicken läßt:

¹² *er*: darnach gestrichen: *uns*.

¹³ Wielands *Zwölf Moralische Briefe in Versen* waren soeben anonym erschienen. Die *Ode an Herrn Bodmer* steht auf sechs unpaginierten Seiten vor der Vorrede; die beiden zitierten Verse über Horaz und Hagedorn stehen gegen Ende des siebenten Briefes (Vers 213 f.).

So dachte dein Horaz, du freund der Gratien,
Ihm gleicher Hagedorn und o wie dacht er schoen!—

Es fehlt dem wackern Jünglinge an dem orte, wo er itzt ist, anders an freunden, die des Adels seines geistes, und der feinheit seines geschmacks würdig seyen. Er ist immer allein und der mangel des umgangs mit geliebten freunden würde ihm schaden, wenn seine Seele sich nicht selber genugsam wäre. Er gedenkt gegen¹⁴ den Herbst nach Göttingen zu gehen, da als *magister legens* so lange zu bleiben bis sich sein schicksal ein wenig entwickelt. Ich bin versichert daß die vorsicht ihn ganz brauchbar finden, und ihm ein anständiges Amt anweisen wird. Da er so geschickt schreibt, dürfen wir auf ihn nicht unzufrieden sein, daß er anfängt alle Messen im drucke zu erscheinen. Er läßt mich wirklich einem andern Gedichte¹⁵ entgegen sehen, von dem er mir aber den Inhalt verbirgt. Da die goldene zeit mit macht anbricht, und wir in der Erwartung der trefflichsten werke stehen, so würde mich verdriessen, die Erde zu verlassen, wenn ich nicht wüßte, daß jenseits des irdischen lebens ungleich poetischere Wunder vor uns werden eröffnet und wir neue Canäle, sie ein zulassen, empfangen werden. Ich nehme das wort poetischere in seiner besten bedeutung.

In einem Briefe an Gleim vom 25. März, 1752¹⁶ weist Bodmer gleichfalls auf "den jüngern, zweiten Klopstock, . . . den Verfasser des *Lobgesangs auf die Liebe*, des *Lehrgedichts von der Natur der Dinge*, und der *zwölf moralischen Briefe*" hin, ohne ihn jedoch mit Namen zu nennen.

W. KURBELMEYER

TRANSLATING AND INTERPRETING GOETHE'S *FAUST*, I, 682/3

Goethe's *Faust*, Part One, lines 682/3 read:

Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es um es zu besitzen.

The readers of this passage knowing enough German will get the meaning of these lines without great difficulty, but their translation has not been easy.

¹⁴ *gegen*: dafür ursprünglich: *auf*.

¹⁵ Den Druck des *Anti-Ovid* erhielt Bodmer zwischen dem 21. und 30. April, 1752; der Druck der *Erzählungen* wurde am 16. Juni an Schinz geschickt; der *Fryhling* wurde am 8. Juni an Bodmer gesendet (vgl. Seuffert, *Prolegomena* I, No. 16, 25, 27).

¹⁶ *Briefe der Schweizer, Bodmer, Sulzer, Geßner, Aus Gleims litterarischem Nachlasse*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Körte, Zürich, 1804, S. 171.

Two pairs of verbs—each pair expressing a contrast—stump the translator: *ererb*t—*erwirb*; *hast*—*besitzen*.

*Ererb*t is that which one has inherited and *erwirb* is a command to earn for yourself the things in life you want. These two words present really no difficulty.

But *hast* and *besitzen* have not always been understood. Is *hast* the auxiliary verb to *ererb*t or a verb in its own right? Goethe keeps the reader guessing. Calvin Thomas in a note to his *Faust* edition, page 267, says: "*hast* is not an auxiliary verb" and voices the consensus of opinion. He gives as translation: "what thou hast, as an inheritance from thy fathers," wanting to say: "what thou possessest as an inheritance from thy fathers." Thomas continues his translation: "earn it in order to possess it" and he should have said: "in order to own it."

American terminology as used by the courts distinguishes clearly between possession and ownership. When I possess a thing I usually have control over it, but not necessarily title to it. When, however, I own a thing I have title to it, but need not have it (in possession). I may be a bailor or depositor of my own property with a third party.

Goethe when writing these two lines under consideration must have had in mind the distinction between possession and ownership, but used the old terms *haben* (for English: to possess) and *besitzen* (for English: to own). A well known example from *Künstlers Erdenwallen*, line 23, makes it very clear: "Und er besitzt dich nicht, er hat dich nur." In Grimms *Wörterbuch* is found: "wie der Dieb die entwandte Sache hat, noch nicht besitzt."

The German Civil Code of 1900 (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) makes the same distinction as our American laws and uses the terms *Besitz* for possession and *Eigentum* for ownership, which would make *haben* and *besitzen* synonymous with possessing and would force us to translate the American *to own* with the German idiom *zu eigen haben*.

A very interesting investigation may be made comparing the various rendering of those lines into English as found in the great number of *Faust* translations.

Quite a few translators missed the meaning entirely and a number of examples will be in order.

Lord Gower (London, 1825, p. 38) writes:

Better to waste the substance of my sire
Than thus encircled by it to expire.

while J. Birch (London, 1839, p. 37) says:

What thou hast heired if proving is no use,
The holding is a burthen and gives pain.

A prose translation by A. Hayword (Boston, 1853, p. 48) has:
"To possess what thou hast inherited from thy sire, enjoy it."

John Stuart Blackie (London, 1880, p. 38) translates:

Why should a man possess ancestral treasures,
But by possession to enlarge his pleasures?

Even as late as 1907 there is a translation by M. Charles (London, p. 27):

What we have to enjoy,
Better to have squandered my heritage,
To have enjoyed and thus possessed them.

Fortunately the number of translators who understood Goethe is far greater than the number of misinterpreters.

Ann Swanwick (London, 1850, Bohn, p. 22) is extremely correct:

Would'st thou possess thy heritage, essay
By active use to render it thine own.

Charles T. Brooks (Boston, 1856, p. 42) translates:

That which thy fathers have bequeathed to thee
Go earn, in order that thou may'st it get.

Bayard Taylor's well known translation reads:

What from your father's heritage is lent,
Earn it anew, to really possess it.

Quite close to correctness is C. Kegan (London, 1873, p. 31):

Whate'er thy fathers left thee to possess,
That earn anew ere 'tis thine own.

R. McClintock (London, 1897, p. 35) is a little vague:

The heritage that comes by mere descent
Is ours but by appropriation.

Thos. E. Webb (London, 1898, p. 25) expresses better Goethe's ideas:

Earn thou the right what thy sires of yore
Have left thee heir, if thou wouldst truly own.

Frank Clandy (Washington, D. C., 1899, p. 30) comes about as close as Webb:

What you obtained from sires gone before,
Earn first, then own what you inherit.

John Todhunter (Oxford, 1924, p. 22) translates the lines the following way:

What from thy sires thou hast inherited
Earn and make thy own possession.

Alice Raphael (N. Y. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930, p. 33) gives a rather free interpretation:

All that your ancestors bequeathed to you
To make it really yours, now earn anew..

Earn or *acquire* and *possess* are used by W. H. van der Smissen (Toronto, 1926) and G. M. Priest (N. Y., 1932), but John Shawcross (London, 1934) reintroduces *own*:

The riches, which thy sires to thee made o'er,
Until thou earn, thou canst not own them yet.

The latest translation was found in E. Kohn-Bramstedt's book: *Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany* (London, 1937, p. 120):

You must labour in order really to possess what you
have inherited from your fathers!

Goethe—and that is self-evident—when writing his lines had not only material values in mind which man inherits from his ancestors, but meant above all those intellectual and spiritual resources which each of us inherits from previous generations and which we have to earn anew all the time in order to claim undisputed title to them.

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ZUR QUELLENFORSCHUNG VON GERHART HAUPT-
MANNS FLORIAN GEYER

Einer der Höhepunkte in Gerhart Hauptmanns 'Tragödie des Bauernkrieges' liegt im vierten Aufzug, in jener eindrucksvollen Szene, die Geyers Gelöbnis enthält. Der schwarze Ritter, der von seinem bis zum Tode getreuen Feldhauptmann Teller mann Abschied nimmt, lässt sich von der Marei Rüstung und Waffen reichen und spricht dazu die Worte:

"'Von Wahrheit ich will nimmer lahn' . . . Den Helm, Marei!—
'Das soll mir bitten ab kein Mann,
auch schafft, zu schrecken mich, kein Wehr,
kein Bann, kein Acht' . . . Die Armschienen fest, ich will mich
damit begraben lassen. . . .
'Obwohl mein' treue Mutter weint,
dass ich die Sach' hab' fangen an,
Gott woll' sie trösten. . . . Es muss gahn.'" ¹

Heinrich Lemcke ² führt dieses Gelöbnis auf Ulrich von Huttens bekanntes 'Ich habs gewagt' zurück. Er nennt das 1521 erschienene und bei Liliencron unter Nr. 349 verzeichnete Lied als Quelle und zitiert daraus folgende Teile:

het warhait ich geschwigen, mir weren hulder vil . . .
stat schon im lauff, so setz ich drauff: müß gan oder brechen . . .
hab dise sach in güttem angefangen . . .
bin unverzagt, ich habs gewagt und wil des ends erwarten.

Diese Zeilen enthalten eine zu geringe Ähnlichkeit mit den Worten Geyers, um als Quelle bezeichnet zu werden. Hauptmann hat in diesem Falle Ulrich von Huttens 'Gespräch büchlin' benutzt, ein Werk, das ebenfalls im Jahre 1521 erschien und Geyers Gelöbnis vollständig enthält. In dem einleitenden Gedichte, dessen Titel lautet: "Zu dem leszer diszer nachfolgenden büchlin, Ulrich von Hutten," finden wir die Zeilen:

"Von warheit ich wil nyemer lan,
Das soll mir bitten ab kein man.
Auch schafft züstillen mich kein wer,
Kein bann, kein acht, . . .

¹ Gerhart Hauptmann: *Das Dramatische Werk*, Berlin, 1932, II, 172.

² H. Lemcke: "Florian Geyer in der Geschichte und bei Gerhart Hauptmann." *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* . . . 1916, S. 283.

Wiewol mein fromme mütter weynt,
Do ich die säch hett gfangen an—
Gott wöll sye trösten!—es musz gan.”²

Die fast wörtliche Entlehnung hat der Dichter in seinem Drama durch den Apostroph anscheinend absichtlich gekennzeichnet.

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EARLY EVIDENCES OF MILTON'S INFLUENCE

Cupid's Metamorphoses (1728), a rather scarce miscellany which was published as the second volume of William Pattison's works, contains three Miltonic poems, hitherto unnoticed. Pattison and his friends seem to have been especially impressed by the loftiness of Milton's style and imitated it in a group of Scriptural paraphrases. "Read *Milton*," wrote "Mr. Roche of King's College," a member of the group, "and of true Sublime despair."¹ Walter Harte, a friend of Pattison and of Pope, previously had written two poetic paraphrases of the Psalms in the manner of Milton.² Pattison contributed "Part of the 38th and 39th Chapters of Job, Paraphras'd in Blank Verse,"³ which reveals the Miltonic influence in its theme, elevated diction, and such an obvious borrowing as "When Night and Darkness brooded o'er the Chaos." Roche submitted "A Paraphrase on Some Passages in the Book of Wisdom, Chap. v, vii, viii."⁴ This is in heroic couplets, but the style and such a borrowing as "From the dark Womb of uncreated Night" show that Roche's reading of Milton had not been without effect.

More important than these is Roche's "Ode to Melancholy."⁵ Because the number of early imitations of Milton's octosyllabic poems is small—Professor Havens has found only ten published before 1729⁶—and because almost all of these are imitations of *L'Allegro*—only William Broome's "Melancholy" (1727) is pat-

² Joseph Kürschner: "Thomas Murner und Ulrich von Hutten." *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Bd. 17, 2. Abteilung, S. 285-286.

¹ *Cupid's Metamorphoses*, p. 268.

² *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1727).

³ *Cupid's Metamorphoses*, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁶ R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton* (Cambridge, 1922), 669.

turned closely on *Il Penseroso*,—Roche's poem is of significance in the history of Milton's influence. Most of the poem is in heroic couplets, but three short passages employ the octosyllabic measure. In general, the poem follows the thematic pattern of *Il Penseroso*: the poet begins with the conventional "Hail" to the goodness; treats briefly the ancestry of Melancholy (cf. *Il Penseroso*, 11-30); paints natural scenes of gloom and asks that he be permitted to live in contemplative solitude (cf. *ibid.*, 45-84); in a passage similar to Milton's references to Tragedy, Musaeus, Orpheus, and Chaucer (97-120), recounts how he feeds his pensiveness by reading Pope and Philips; and closes with a religious passage more Biblical than Miltonic, but clearly inspired by *Il Penseroso*, 155-74. There are also a few similarities in minor details. For example,

In studious Leisure let my days be spent;
Wing'd with soft Peace, calm Quiet and Content;
In Silence let 'em urge their constant Flight

is reminiscent of

And join with thee calm Peace and Quiet . . .
And add to these retired Leisure . . .
The Cherub Contemplation;
And the mute Silence hist along. (*Il Penseroso*, 45, 49, 54-5)

And "Lofty Trees in Arches meeting, . . . Hide me, ye Gods, within this dark Retreat" is like "To arched walks of twilight groves, . . . Hide me from Day's garish eye" (*ibid.*, 133, 141). Despite its title, "Ode to Melancholy" is not properly a part of the eighteenth-century literature of melancholy; like its source, it describes *il serio*, not *il melancholio*.

One other early Miltonic poem that has not been recorded by Professor Havens deserves some attention: *On the Death of Mr. Edmund Smith . . . A Poem, in Miltonic Verse* (London, 1712). The preface of this blank verse poem is interesting in explicitly stating a few critical concepts which doubtless were tacitly accepted by many imitators of Milton, but which were seldom recorded or were opposed as contrary to neo-classic doctrines. Milton is urged as a model for imitation because "if we imitate the very worst of him, we can scarce be led into a Fault"; and Miltonic inversion, "which in our Language is peculiar only to himself," is especially praised as graceful and helpful in placing the emphasis

properly, though most eighteenth-century poets were painstaking in observing normal syntax. But it is to a criticism of Milton's diction that most of the preface is devoted. Despite the frequent use of such diction, the early eighteenth-century critics were in almost entire accord in describing Milton's language as barbarous. The author of the poem on Edmund Smith was, therefore, rather unusual in defending the imitation of Milton's archaisms and Latinisms. The language of his own day, he grants, is delicate and correct; but, like many critics of the end of the century, he feels that for the acquisition of this refinement, desirable though it is in itself, the age has sacrificed the nervous and masculine language of the age of Spenser and Milton. Archaisms and Latinisms, he writes in a passage that anticipates Gray's pronouncement, are also valuable for the part they play in removing poetry from the realm of prose. The poem itself carefully follows these injunctions and is packed with inversions, archaic and Latinate diction, and such Miltonic tricks as the use of adjective for adverb and noun for verb.⁷

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⁷To Professor Havens' bibliography of poems influenced by *Paradise Lost* should also be added:

1724 Anon. Poem in Miltonick Numbers.—Plain Dealer, i. 394.

1736 Anon. Psalm 47th Paraphras'd in Miltonick Verse.—London Mag., v. 93.

1764 Anon. The Hymn of Adam and Eve. Taken from Paradise Lost.—Melancas. A Pastoral. Salisbury, 1764.

To his list of poems influenced by Milton's octosyllabics should be added:

1751 Gower, Foote. To Melancholy.—Epicedia Oxoniensia in Obitum Celsissimi et Desideratissimi Frederici Principis Walliae. Oxford, 1751.

1752 C. C. Thoughts on the Death of a Friend.—Universal Mag., xi. 270.

And to his bibliography of poems influenced by *Lycidas*:

1751 Musgrave, S. "Ah me! that fate shou'd still with nipping blast."—Epicedia Oxoniensia . . . Frederici. Oxford, 1751.

REVIEWS

Goethe and the Greeks. By HUMPHRY TREVELYAN. Cambridge University Press, 1941, Pp. xvi + 321.

Mr. Trevelyan's study achieves with clarity and a good deal of impressive learning what in the main it sets out to do: it provides a detailed account of the facts and establishes the extent of Goethe's knowledge of Greek things at every stage of his development. A carefully compiled date chart and a short but, generally speaking, adequate bibliography are immediate and outward proof of thorough workmanship and intimate familiarity with the issues involved. But we can be grateful to Mr. Trevelyan for more than that: he has looked into so far-reaching and intractable a problem as Goethe's attitude toward the Greeks with the fresh vision of a generation that has eagerly sifted much of the petrified academic vocabulary of the older Goethe-scholarship and has come to insist upon implications in the classicist belief that would earlier have seemed unduly disturbing. Yet, that the book as a whole does not quite fulfill our expectations is due, not, certainly, to any shortcomings in Mr. Trevelyan's admirable scholarly equipment, but rather to his somewhat forced attempt at establishing, throughout the shifting phases of Goethe's contact with the Greeks a unity of intellectual development that is bound to remain inconclusive and precarious.

The first three of six crowded chapters survey the material up to the year 1786 and if there is in that part little need for more than casual interpretation, it is in the later period where, to be sure, the ground is on the whole more familiar, that Mr. Trevelyan shows much analytical skill and a fresh insight into an intricate problem. He would argue that as soon as Goethe began to devote himself to the study of the Greeks (especially through his reading of the tragic poets) he recognized the curious discrepancy between the current concept of classical modes of behavior and the evidence of certain disquieting and "inhuman" elements in the Greek spirit. In *Iphigenie* he attempted an adjustment of the two views; but he realized at once that a modern solution, a reconciliation of 'Electra-morality' with 'Iphigenie-morality' would prove impossible and that the perplexing and, indeed, repulsive nature of the inhuman Greek spirit could not, except by a forced assertion of humane values, be projected into the contemporary frame of enlightened belief. Mr. Trevelyan's interpretation of *Iphigenie* seems to neutralize certain inherent difficulties with perhaps unwarranted ease, but he is no doubt right in suggesting that whenever Goethe in his later years attempted to solve this fundamental inner

discrepancy (in *Elpenor* for instance, which here receives an interesting new reading), he failed. The Greeks had clearly fallen short of the "Good and the True" as Goethe then saw it, and it was not until the Italian journey that he succeeded in fitting the elemental inhumanity of their life into his own changing moral perceptions. There were, as we know, several experiences which helped him to accept the new understanding of Greek life: one was the acquaintance with K. Ph. Moritz and his *Götterlehre*, the other the exciting sight of the Apollo Belvedere, the Zeus Otricoli and the Juno Ludovisi; at the same time the strangely disturbing days in Sicily linked his earlier conception of the Homeric "Urmensch" with his newly emerging attitude towards the "Urlandschaft." These visions carried Goethe past the barrier that we know as the problem of good and evil: gradually he came to see the inner meaning of conflict, the justification of 'Electra-morality.' The sublimation of this discovery occupied Goethe for the rest of his life and it is quite proper that in the last part of his study, Mr. Trevelyan should assign climactic significance to the Helena-myth. Helena, he suggests, is the symbol "not of all Greek life but of the highest achievement of the Greeks, the principle of form, of ordered purposes of self-control and mastery." We need not, I think, go as far as Mr. Trevelyan when he maintains that "wherever in *Faust II* Helen's influence is absent, there the elemental forces, selfish, aimless, weak, ephemeral hold sway"; but there can be no doubt that in the opening scene of *Act III* the gist of Goethe's final vision of Greece has become supreme poetic reality.

There are bound to arise questions that might have transcended and even jeopardized Mr. Trevelyan's central theme, and it is quite possible that his carefully plotted argument would have lost much of its consistency if he had allowed himself to broaden his field of vision. He might, I think, have paid more than casual attention to the more indirect consequences of Goethe's preoccupation with the Greek spirit. The area, for instance, of Heraclitean and neo-Platonic thought in its relation to Goethe's intellectual development has not been entered. To have taken issues of this nature into closer consideration would have relieved the book of some of its one-sidedness and would have led more directly to the cardinal question of the share of the Greek experience in the shaping of Goethe's poetic perception. It would, moreover, have strengthened Mr. Trevelyan's stand in the recent discussion of what Miss Butler has bluntly but provocatively called the tyranny of Greece over the German poets. There is no doubt in Mr. Trevelyan's mind that the terrifying nature of the Greeks continued to haunt Goethe throughout his life and there is now enough evidence to suppose that at times the boundless admiration of the earlier years tended to turn into something close to fear and hostility towards the Greek

spirit. There were moments when he wondered whether his passion for Greece had not blinded him to other forms of life. But in spite of his profound sense of indebtedness to the Greeks, Goethe was in the end fundamentally certain of his own position as a modern and a northern poet. Mr. Trevelyan reminds us at the close of his study of a superb passage from the notes to *Rameaus Neffe* in which Goethe faces with a characteristic gesture of resignation and irony what must have seemed even to him an almost insuperable dilemma:

Uns Nordländer kann man auf jene [griechischen und römischen] Muster nicht ausschliesslich hinweisen. Wir haben uns andrer Voreltern zu rühmen und haben manch anderes Vorbild im Auge. Wäre nicht durch die romantische Wendung ungebildeter Jahrhunderte das Ungeheure mit dem Abgeschmackten in Berührung gekommen, woher hätten wir einen Hamlet, einen Lear, eine Anbetung des Kreuzes, einen standhaften Prinzen? Uns auf der Höhe dieser barbarischen Avantagen, da wir die antiken Vorteile wohl niemals erreichen werden, mit Mut zu erhalten, ist unsere Pflicht.

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VICTOR LANGE

The Epic in Nineteenth-Century France: A Study in Heroic and Humanitarian Poetry from Les Martyrs to Les Siècles Morts.

By H. J. HUNT. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1941, Pp. xiii + 466. \$5.00.

Prof. H. has undertaken and achieved a singularly difficult task. Reduced to its simplest terms, it is that of determining whether the well-known declaration: "les Français n'ont pas la tête épique," holds water when applied to nineteenth-century French literature. I use the term "literature" advisedly, for though the sub-title of H.'s book informs us that it is "a study in heroic and humanitarian poetry," considerable space is devoted to the prose "epics" of Chateaubriand, Ballanche, Quinet, and others. This presupposes a re-definition of the term "epic"; H. undertakes to give one in an introductory chapter, in which he explicitly states that his aim is "to sketch the history of the *humanitarian* epic in Romantic poetry" (p. 5). As a consequence, he contents himself with only brief comments on the mass of conventional pseudo-Homeric epics of the first half of the nineteenth century; but he broadens his original plan by carrying his study through the Parnassian period and by making it include "heroic" epics of a religious or philosophic character not necessarily "humanitarian" in purpose. Whether or not one may be disposed to take issue with his dictum that "a really new and original inspiration in epic poetry could only be provided if some strong ideal and religious stimulus were brought into effect" (p. 7), one can not but compliment Prof. H. on the perseverance with which he has ploughed through countless pages

of ambitious but all too often far worse than mediocre literary efforts, the understanding with which he has sifted the wheat from the chaff, the sparkle with which he illuminates what might easily have been an insufferably tedious analysis of lengthy and indigestible poems in verse and prose. As Prof. Rudler points out in an "Avant-Propos," H. has achieved his purpose, which was, to quote his own words, "to furnish a missing chapter in French literary history" (p. 405), and he has done so with a conscientiousness and soundness of judgment which leave little to be desired.

Following up his two earlier studies, *le Socialisme et le Romanisme en France* (Oxford, 1935) and *Edgar Quinet and Nineteenth-Century Democracy* (London, 1937), Prof. H. links the humanitarian epics of the nineteenth century to the free-masonry, illuminism and theosophy of the eighteenth, an acquaintance with which he rightly deems basic to the proper understanding of Ballanche's "epic cycle," notably of his *Vision d'Hébal*, and of Quinet's apocalyptic *Ahasvérus*. This leads him to the verse epics of the century, from the adumbrations of Vigny's "Eloa" and "le Déluge," past *Jocelyn* and *la Chute d'un ange*, the only pillars to be erected by Lamartine in the vast temple of *les Visions* he had projected, past a congeries of biblical, nationalistic, philosophic, and scientific lucubrations more or less epic in character, signed by Soumet, Ludovic de Cailleux, Maurice de Guérin, Victor de Laprade, Louis Bouilhet, and a host of others, to the crowning achievement in the genre, the Hugolian trilogy of *la Légende des siècles*, *la Fin de Satan*, and *Dieu*. Though Hugo is reached only in the tenth of the twelve chapters in the monograph, Prof. H. clearly, and very properly, meant this to be the climactic chapter of his study, as it is the longest devoted to any single individual. Thence, through the "little epics" of the Parnassians—Leconte de Lisle and his slavish follower the Vicomte de Guerne (sometimes sarcastically dubbed le Vicomte de Lisle), Heredia, Coppée, Mendès, and others,—H. leads us to a consideration of the pseudo-epical philosophic poetry of Mme Ackermann and Sully Prudhomme, and to his own conclusions as he casts a backward glance over the enormous extent of territory he has covered. There can be no quarrel whatsoever with his conclusion that, though none of the specimens he has studied is "the perfect type of modern epic" (p. 406), his task has been well worth doing because it reveals "the continuity of Romantic and Parnassian creation in the field of epic" and proves that the "generally recognized 'epics' of nineteenth-century France gain far greater interest and far greater value when shown against the background from which they did in fact emerge" (p. 404). The value of the study as a reference-work is enhanced by the presence of an index and of two commendably complete bibliographical appendices.

Prof. H. has made an admirable effort at impartially calling

attention to both the good and the bad qualities of the epics he has studied, whether they be from the pen of Hugo or from that of a forgotten writer such as Grainville, author of *le Dernier homme*. He very properly reminds us, for instance, that "Théodore de Banville deserves to be cast in a nobler role than that of clown in the circus of Parnassian poetry" (p. 342). One cannot escape the feeling, however, that he has been over-indulgent towards certain poets—the unspeakably dull André de Guerne, for example, his over-erudite trilogy of *les Siècles morts*, and the intolerably icy Victor de Laprade. His generosity towards the latter has caused him to praise the distinction implied by *Pernette* between "genuine love of country and nationalist idolatry" (p. 257) and completely to overlook the fact that Laprade wrote some of the most chauvinistic *revanche* poetry of the post-1871 era.¹ One might be disposed to quibble with Prof. H.'s shortening of Leconte de Lisle's name to de Lisle (pp. 274, 277, 318, etc.); and Sully Prudhomme's *la Justice* contains not twelve "Veilles" (as stated on p. 391) but eleven. It might be contended, too, that, since H. scans so large a number of "epics," he should have found room for at least a mention of Mme Auguste Penquer's *Velléda* (1869) alongside Brizeux' *Marie* and *les Bretons*, Jean Aicard's *Miette et Noré* (1880) alongside Mistral's *Miréio*, Auguste Vacquerie's dramatic poem, *Futura* (1890), Emmanuel des Essarts' collection of "little epics" *Poèmes de la Révolution* (1879), Jules Breton's *Jeanne* (1880) and Léon Barracand's *Jeannette* (1871), idyllic poems in a category with Laprade's *Pernette*, Edouard Grenier's heroic narrative of the Polish struggle for independence, *Marcel* (1875), along with his *la Mort du Juif Errant* (mentioned on p. 232), and examples of what might be called the "épopée des humbles," such as Ernest d'Hervilly's *Jeph Affagard* (1873) and Armand Renaud's "Quelqu'un dans la foule: récit d'une vie d'épreuve" (in his *Drames du peuple*, Lemerre 1885). None of these strictures, however, alters the fact that Prof. H.'s monograph was boldly conceived and brilliantly executed and that it is likely to remain, for many years to come, the definitive work on the subject.

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¹ *Vide* the *recueils* entitled *Varia* and *le Livre d'un père* in vols. v and vi of the Lemerre edition of Laprade's *Œuvres*.—On p. 253 of H.'s study, the last line of a citation from Laprade's "la Tour d'ivoire" is incorrectly given, the word "connu" appearing instead of "su," thus making the verse an imperfect alexandrine.—Foot-note 3 to p. 254 refers to "le Faune" as Laprade's "sole contribution to the *Parnasse contemporain* (that of 1869);" actually, Laprade appears also in the 1876 *Parnasse*, with two poems, "Adieux aux Alpes" and "la Patrie" (pp. 215-225). Factual slips of this sort are few and typographical errors unimportant.

Boileau en France au dix-huitième siècle, par JOHN RICHARDSON MILLER. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, extra volume XVIII). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. 626. \$5.50.

This impressive volume is symptomatic of a recrudescence of interest in Boileau. Although his tercentenary passed without much formal commemoration, the pre-war decade had seen a fresh start made in the study of an author on whom the last word had supposedly been said. Magne's bibliography, the biographical researches of Magne and Demeure, the critical revaluations of Bremond and Fidaio-Justiniani, the editions of Cahen, Clarac and Boudhors—all these went to show that "le président de la république des lettres" (in Thibaudet's phrase) still engages the attention of his countrymen.

America first joined this movement in 1938 with Sister Marie Haley's *Racine and the "Art Poétique" of Boileau*; and now we have Professor Miller's monumental study of the poet's posthumous reputation in France down to 1810. Of his reputation, be it noted, and not of his influence upon creative literature. Professor Miller defines very precisely the scope and the bounds of his study as follows:

A dessein nous ne traitons pas de l'influence directe de Boileau sur la pratique littéraire. Ses imitateurs nous paraissent beaucoup moins intéressants que ses critiques. . . . Nous voudrions seulement relater les mésaventures significatives qu'a subies au cours du dix-huitième siècle le prestige de Boileau.

It is curious that we have had to wait so long for such an obvious subject to be treated, for the reaction of Frenchmen to an author so nationally representative would have seemed to cry out for examination.

Professor Miller has carried out his task with a huge thoroughness and scholarly competence that would appear to leave nothing for anyone to glean after him in this field. The scope of his researches is suggested by his own words:

Nous avons tâché de consulter tous les ouvrages du dix-huitième siècle où l'on pouvait s'attendre à trouver l'expression d'opinions sur Boileau. Notre enquête nous a menés des plus grands écrivains aux plus petits, et nous avons parcouru les périodiques du siècle où beaucoup d'articles sont anonymes.

The result is that his book constitutes a veritable thesaurus of French literary opinion of the eighteenth century such as could probably not be duplicated elsewhere, Boileau serving as the catalyst to precipitate the expressions of opinion. It should be in the library of every student of the history of literary theory and criticism, whether he is particularly interested in Boileau or not. Here he

will find copious and interesting extracts, not only from luminaries like Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau, and from secondary figures like La Motte, Dubos, Marmontel and Mercier but from a host of small fry, whose writings are difficult of access, like Terrasson, Fourmont, Gacon, Marais, Rollin, Jaucourt, Sabatier de Castres, Thomas, Trublet, etc., reference to whom is facilitated not only by a very complete index of proper names but also by an unusually full analytical table of contents covering fourteen large pages—which, by the way, affords a bird's-eye view of the whole argument. There is also a most valuable bibliography (both of eighteenth-century sources and of modern studies) extending over thirty-five pages.

Roughly speaking, the plan of the work is chronological. More exactly, its four divisions (approximately of equal length) correspond to successive (but somewhat overlapping) phases in French critical thought of the eighteenth century. Part I deals with "Boileau et le Cartésianisme littéraire," Part II with "Boileau et les Philosophes," Part III with "Boileau et la Question du Génie," Part IV with "Boileau et la Fin du Classicisme." At the end of each Part the author summarizes the development in a brief "conclusion." The work closes with a general summary of six pages. A summary of this summary would be invidious, but I note the following points of general interest that emerge from a perusal of the book: Fontenelle in the early and Mercier in the late years of the century seem to be Boileau's worst enemies; the "philosophes" and the Academy are reserved towards him; the champions of "original genius" are hostile; Voltaire's attitude is variable; Diderot and Rousseau scarcely mention him; Fénelon, Dubos and Vauvenargues appreciate him and La Harpe at the end of the century worships him; his judgments on Quinault, Tasso, the Christian epic, etc. are challenged, and debate rages about such questions as these: is he a "poet"? or only a "versifier"? does he lack "sentiment"? is satire a legitimate form? etc.

Just at the end of his final conclusion Professor Miller, who has effaced himself with almost too scholarly modesty up to this point, letting his eighteenth century speak for itself, steps to the front for a moment and ventures to present a few "enseignements" or philosophical inferences that seem to emerge from his vast *enquête*. The nature of these may be suggested by the following citations:

Boileau, tel qu'on se l'est représenté pendant un siècle, est un exemple fort clair des déformations que nous faisons subir aux grands écrivains, selon nos goûts ou nos nécessités de polémique. . . . Aucun autre poète ne semble avoir inspiré un tel culte ni éveillé tant de haine. Mais c'est que la polémique dépasse l'œuvre d'un seul homme. C'est toute l'esthétique classique, c'est la suprématie du classicisme qui sont en jeu. . . . Plus instructive même que l'ampleur de la controverse est sa confusion laborieuse et tenace.

He would be a bold man who should venture to challenge Professor Miller on any point of detail. I have the impression that he has

made his fortress of scholarship virtually impregnable. But I will confess that I thought at first I had found a flaw in the plan or perhaps in the basic conception of his undertaking. I said to myself: Professor Miller is interested in two separate things, the history of Boileau's reputation and the history of French critical thought in the eighteenth century. In attempting to combine the two in one story, he has risked falling between two stools. The reader interested primarily in Boileau will not like his plan; he will be looking for the answers to his instinctive questions—how did the eighteenth century react to Boileau's views on Quinault, Tasso, the Christian epic, etc.? what did it think of him as a satirist? as a critic? as a moralist? and he will not be able to find these answers concentrated in chapters corresponding to these respective questions; he will have to put together the answers for himself from fragments mined out from the various chronological strata of the argument. The specialist in the history of criticism, on the other hand, will approve of the general plan, but will object to the unwanted figure of Boileau constantly obtruding itself between him and the fascinating panorama of critical history that Professor Miller spreads before him. He will ask: why did the author not simply give us the history of French criticism in the eighteenth century which he was so eminently qualified to give and which we so notably lack?

But on second thoughts I see that I was wrong. The undeniable awkwardnesses inherent in Professor Miller's plan are more than made up for by the vitality and concreteness that are given to critical history by his use of Boileau as what I have called a "catalyst," a device which forces the inveterate generalizing habit of eighteenth-century thought to come to grips with the particular instance. It is just this idea of projecting the supposedly fixed figure of Boileau against the ever-changing flux of critical opinion—with the resultant finding that that figure then becomes itself an "être ondoyant et divers"—that constitutes the originality and the value of Professor Miller's work.

Let it be added that this book is written in impeccable French, and handsomely printed on fine paper with only a negligible number of misprints. It is a credit not only to American scholarship but to the Press that published it.

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Les Lettres anglaises dans l'Encyclopédie. By LOIS S. GAUDIN.
New York: privately printed, 1942. Pp. xviii + 256.

The Diderot who bent over his desk in the Le Breton *atelier* scribbling page after page of his vivid letters to Sophie Volland

instead of plunging into the *corvée* of correcting proof or checking the plates of the *Encyclopédie* is a human and winning figure, but he could not, or would not, give the firm-handed direction which the huge, amorphous work needed. Of course, merely to complete the enterprise at all and bring it to publication in spite of the opposition of the authorities was a constant, energy-consuming struggle. Moreover, Diderot's collaborators were for the most part a conservative and mediocre lot.

So it is no great surprise that the results of Miss Gaudin's careful and intelligent study are to a large degree negative. English literature is neither ably nor comprehensively treated in the *Encyclopédie*. The material is widely scattered, fragmentary, and not presented systematically. Authors are discussed under their place of birth instead of under their own names, except the numerous authors born in London, who are often not treated at all! The opinions expressed are usually very conservative or hostile and far from the vanguard even of contemporary knowledge. Quotations are made frequently from the convenient *Art of English Poetry* (1737) by Bysshe and give little sign of first-hand reading. Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) are constantly drawn upon for their succinct and piquant expression, often without acknowledgment. This is most interesting evidence of the great influence of this important early work of Voltaire. Chauffepié's Supplement to Bayle, Formey, the original Chambers' Dictionary are of course often imitated or copied verbatim. More than 260 articles in which English literature is discussed are due to the well-intentioned, industrious, but mediocre pen of the Chevalier de Jaucourt. The total result in regard to the treatment of English literature in the *Encyclopédie* is what might be expected.

The Introduction in which Miss Gaudin outlines the nature of her work and its problems is an able analysis which will add to any one's understanding of the *Encyclopédie* and of the manner in which it should be studied. If the results of this volume seem at first sight rather arid, it represents nevertheless a valuable cross-section of eighteenth-century opinion and we are grateful to the author for carrying it through successfully to completion.¹

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GEORGE R. HAVENS

¹ Some minor errors: p. 64, l. 6: Prévost's partial translations of Lillo were published in 1734, not 1731; p. 66, l. 18: Rousseau's *Emile* dates from 1762, not 1763; p. 118, note 84, read Babelon, III, 286, not II, 275; p. 124, note 111, read Babelon, I, 226, where the volume indication is omitted; p. 165, l. 6, read 1752 for the second volume of the *Encyclopédie*, not 1751 (cf. Joseph Le Gras, *Diderot et l'Encyclopédie*, p. 81). It seems unlikely that the pious Derham, with his *Théologie astronomique*, was one "qui aurait dû être particulièrement cher à des philosophes du XVIII^e siècle" (p. 186), except to those who shared the essentially religious viewpoint of

Adrien Jourdan's *Susanna* (1653), A Critical Edition of the Latin Text with a Study of the Play and Its Influence on Brueys's *Gabinie* (1699). By SISTER LOYOLA MARIA COFFEY, S. S. J. 124 pp.

Les Illustres Fous of Charles Beys, A Critical Edition with a Brief Account of the Author and his Works. By MERLE I. PROTZMAN. 212 pp., with index.

Vols. XLI and XLII of the Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942.

These two new volumes make available to students of French dramatic literature of the seventeenth century excellent editions of significant plays not otherwise readily accessible, with introductions bringing together in convenient form what is known about their authors, and notes which elucidate the text, and furnish variant readings, allusions, and linguistic and literary comment. Each is a valuable contribution to a fuller understanding of the period which the study of the minor dramatists may afford.

Appearing the same year (1653), the two plays represent two entirely different types.

Susanna, in Latin iambic trimeters, by Father Adrien Jourdan, is a five-act religious tragedy written for the students of the Jesuit Collège de Clermont, where it was presented, accompanied by a ballet between the acts, before the young king to whom it was dedicated, to the applause of a distinguished audience. A programme in French giving an act by act synopsis is published following the Latin text. This play is thus of special interest as an example of that extensive category of collegiate Latin plays of which mention is often made but which remain practically unknown to the ordinary student of the period.

In her introduction of some twenty-five pages, Sister Loyola discusses briefly the Jesuit theatre in France, with some description of the performances, refraining from attributing to it any direct influence on the professional stage or those who wrote for it, except in the case of Brueys and his *Gabinie*, who admittedly drew from *Susanna*. She gives the known facts about Father Jourdan (1617-1692), and his other literary work, largely historical, and studies the sources of the story of *Susanna*, martyred under Diocletian, and the modifications introduced by the dramatist, with some com-

a Rousseau. Diderot's remark on the following page can hardly be accepted as more than a prudent bow to the ever-present censor. But these are only "bagatelles," added in the interest of that accuracy toward which we strive and never quite attain. They do not detract from my admiration for an excellent and difficult study.

ment on the latter's technique, which follows closely the dramatic conventions of French tragedy, and on his Latin style, which shows an evident preference for the simplicity of Plautus and Terence.

The text is preceded by the author's preface "in qua de vetere tragoedia disseritur," containing some interesting observations particularly on the role of the chorus. The editor's notes deal largely with linguistic points and the careful comparison with the French play of Brueys.

The edition of *Les Illustres Fous* offers, along with an introduction which adds but little to the scanty fund of known facts about Beys, in spite of a thorough combing of the *Œuvres Poétiques* and other sources, a carefully edited text of the play, and a complete list of the changes which the author introduced into his earlier versions of *l'Hospital des Fous*, when he revised the play in 1653. The play is interesting in itself and the modifications furnish convincing evidence of the development of the conception of comedy in the intervening period. The introduction gives a summary and critical examination of all the known works of Beys, and those attributed to him, and, while the conclusions reached differ little, if any, from those found in Professor Lancaster's *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, the citations and references permit an evaluation of the place, admittedly a minor one, which the poet may justly claim in the literary world of his day.

Of interest also are the discussion of sources and the lines quoted from Lope de Vega's novel, *El Peregrino en su Patria*, showing direct influence on individual verses, though "it was the main plot and perhaps the location of the play at the famous hospital in Valencia," which was drawn from Lope.

The editor has perhaps erred in over-abundance of notes on possible allusions, and similarities of phrase or thought with other authors covering a wide range, but these show with what thoroughness the author and his period have been studied.¹

CASIMIR D. ZDANOWICZ

¹ The reviewer would question the interpretation of verses 211-214:

Nous en voyons pourtant, qui dans leurs intervalles,
Font des vers assez bons, et des pièces Morales.
J'en ai dedans ma chambre une pique de haut,
Mon Commis, il les faut examiner tantost.

The editor explains: "*pique de haut*, i. e. an ace; an excellent one. The term is used in piquet." Is not the idea, rather: "I have in my room a pile of them a pikestaff high"?

In verse 1391, there should be no accent on *ou*.

Perhaps an explanation of the word *idée* should be given in a note to verse 1876, where it seems to mean image, physical appearance:



The Novels of Gomberville. A Critical Study of Polexandre and Cythérée. By PHILIP A. WADSWORTH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. x + 109. \$2.00.

Mr. Wadsworth had previously shown his interest in Gomberville by discussing the quarrel about *car*¹ and by writing a biographical sketch of the novelist.² He now devotes himself to his author's art, especially as shown in the complicated history of *Polexandre*, of which Tallemant des Réaux had written:³

Il avoit fait d'abord *Polexandre*, en deux volumes, avec le titre de *l'Exil de Polexandre*; depuis il a tout changé et a continué jusqu'à cinq volumes. Beaucoup de gens aimoient mieux les deux premiers.

But it has been pointed out that there were also *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée* and several editions of *Polexandre*, one in two volumes, four in five. To what extent is it true that Gomberville had "tout changé"? Is one form a continuation of another? Mr. W. has answered these questions in detail, showing that the novelist published in 1619 a sketchy romance called *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée*; in 1629 *l'Exil de Polexandre*, a new work that repeated only a few details from its predecessor and showed its author's fondness for the exotic; in 1632 a two-volume *Polexandre*, not a continuation of *l'Exil*, but a reworking of it with many changes, including the substitution of Asiatic scenery for American, and with many additions. It is this form of the work that approaches most nearly the historical novel. In 1637 *Polexandre* was out again, this time in five volumes and again rewritten, with less historicity, with some new heroes, and with new adventures for old ones. The following year the work reappeared, but with

Quoy tu l'as regardée
Sans changer de dessein en voyant son idée?
Quoy tu l'as massacrée, & n'as pas entendu,
Une tremblante voix de son sang répandu. . . .

Following verse 1921, the speech attributed to Dom Alfrede belongs to Le Concierge. Should not the heading be a stage direction (à Dom Alfrede)?

In connection with the dedication to Monseigneur le Duc D'Arpajon, it might have been à propos to cite verses 229-232:

Et nous la dédierons à quelque grand Seigneur.
Non! choisissons quelqu'un qui n'ayt guere d'honneur,
Nous le mettrons tout vif au Temple de Memoire,
Sans doute il donnera du bien pour de la Gloire.

If the noble lord read the play dedicated to him, such a passage would scarcely have won favorable attention. Perhaps the failure to receive a gift may explain why Beys did not carry out his promise to write a whole book devoted to the glorious achievements of d'Arpajon.

¹ *MLQ.*, I (1940), 527-38.

² *Studies by Members of the French Department of Yale University*, 1941.

³ *Historiettes*, Monmerqué et Paris ed., VI (1857), 72.

only minor changes. This edition of 1638 gives the definitive form of the novel, for the editions of 1641 and 1645 show only "minute typographical differences." It is the final form that was Englished by William Browne and published at London in 1647.

Mr. W. has rendered genuine service by solving this puzzle. He discusses G.'s method of composition and his style, both in *Polexandre* and in his other novels, his influence as well. He notes his liking for exotic names and costume and for naval battles, his avoidance of dialogue, his popularity in France and England. In comparison, however, with d'Urfé, La Calprenède, and Mlle de Scudéry, G had little influence on drama. W. collects the known examples: half a play by Scudéry from *l'Exil*; an anonymous *Juste Vengeance* from the *Polexandre* of 1632; a ballet by Benserade and Dryden's *Indian Queen* from later forms of the novel. He notes also a few minor borrowings, among which he might well have included the name Almanzor, which the lackey of the *Précieuses ridicules* must have received from his novel-crazed mistresses. The fact that so few borrowers are to be found may be due, as W. suggests, to what he calls an early example of copyright, the prohibition in the *privilege* of *Polexandre* (1637) against the use of the novel as a source for "comédies, tragédies, poèmes, ou romans." Tallemant, who had also been struck by this prohibition, wondered whether the dramatists obeyed out of respect for the law or because they found scarcely any "histoire vraisemblable" in the novel. "Je voudrais bien," he added, "voir un procez sur cela."⁴

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Studies in Honor of John Albrecht Walz. Lancaster Press, Pa., 1941. Pp. 335. \$3.50.

As the statement following the table of contents explains, the volume consists of studies in the field of German literature and language which "have all been written by former graduate students of Professor Walz at Harvard University. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday and his Presidency of the Modern Language Association of America, they are herewith presented as an expression of highest esteem and a token of enduring gratitude." These studies are in a measure fairly representative of Professor Walz' own interests.

The contents may be roughly divided into a) literary, and b) linguistic: a) Philip A. Shelley, *Niclas Müller, German-American Poet and Patriot*; Archer Taylor, *Zwischen Pfingsten und Strassburg*; Israel S. Stamm, *A Note on Kleist and Kant*; Walter Silz, *Goethe's Auf dem See*; O. W. Long, *Werther in America*; Harry

⁴ *Op. cit.*, VI, 73.

W. Pfund, *George Henry Calvert, Admirer of Goethe*; Charles F. Barnason, *Early Danish and Swedish Writers on Native History*; Thomas K. Brown Jr., *Goethe's Lila as a Fragment of the Great Confession*; Fred O. Nolte, *Art and Reality*; Alan Holske, *Stifter and the Biedermeier Crisis*. b) R-M. S. Heffner, *Notes on Walther's use of Können and Mögen*; Albert F. Buffington, *English Loan Words in Pennsylvania German*; W. F. Twaddell, *Functional Burdening of Stressed Vowels in German*; George J. Metcalf, *Abstractions as Forms of Address in Fifteenth Century German*; Wolfgang Philip von Schmertzling, *Mittelhochdeutsche Jägerwörter vom Hund*. Pages 329-335 contain a list of Professor Walz' publications prepared by Philip A. Shelley.

It is impossible in a brief review to comment on all the articles, but, suffice it to say, they are almost without exception interesting and present a contribution each in its own field. Shelley, Pfund and Long deal with various phases of German literary influences in America. Silz and Brown give interpretative treatments of two of Goethe's works, which on the whole are convincing. In his detailed discussion Silz omits comment on the acoustic effect of Goethe's changes in the text. This important fact is generally overlooked in articles of this type. Brown very plausibly identifies the Lila of Goethe's operetta of the same name with Charlotte von Stein and the Baron von Sternthal with Goethe himself. The essay of Holske on Stifter in his Biedermeier setting is excellent. Stamm sums up his examination of Kant's influence on Kleist, after presenting cogent arguments for a metaphysical doctrine which had been denied by some previous Kleist scholars, with the following words: "The impression of the Kantian experience on Kleist seems to have been a necessary recognition that the radical conflict between urgent religious need on the one side and a strongly anti-metaphysical conditioning on the other could not be the basis of a life of logical and consistent knowledge and action. It might serve as the basis of a life of suffering and—in the presence of a sufficient power of expression—as the basis of tragic poetry. It served Kleist for both." This statement the reviewer believes to be correct and it furnishes the key to a proper understanding of Kleist's works.

Of the more or less linguistic articles it might be stated that Heffner's approach to the problem of the use of *können* and *mögen* in Walther von der Vogelweide is sound. Statistics furnish him with the starting point, but as he himself is willing to admit, there are cases where a final decision is next to impossible, particularly where the words occur in rime. The larger aspects of the problem can only be treated after the field has been similarly examined from Notker to the contemporaries of Walther. In Buffington's interesting article one might wonder whether *koonstawbler* is not the German word, at least the ending seems to point that way. The form *shreef* is perhaps from the older

shrieve rather than from *sheriff*; note the long *e*. Metcalf's article sheds light on the use of the plural forms of *Gnade* and *Liebe* in the epistolary correspondence of the nobility in the 15th century and also on the change from the second to the third person plural of the accompanying pronouns. Since von Schmertzling's dissertation was written (1938) there has appeared a work by Kurt Lindner, *Geschichte des deutschen Weidwerks*, Bd. II: *Die Jagd im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin 1940, of which a brief review is accessible in *Geistige Arbeit*, Mai 1941, Nr. 10. It is difficult at times to say definitely that a certain word is a *Jägerwort*, particularly when it occurs but once and is used in its ordinary sense, e. g. *abestroufen*, p. 307. The word *betüt*, p. 303 means 'andeute' from MHG *betiuten*. Twaddell gives an illuminating treatment of the distinction of vowels in word pairs in German, e. g. *i/e* in *fliehen/flehen*, *biete/Beete*. If such studies were extended to include Old, Middle and Early New High German we might be further enlightened as to tendencies, drifts in the phonetic structure of the German language. Archer Taylor discusses such mediaeval expressions as *zwischen Pfingsten und Strassburg*, *entre Maubeuge et la Pentecôte*, which first appear in the mediaeval Latin animal epic (*inter pascha Remisque*) and signify 'never or nowhere.' Barnason treats at length the mostly pseudo-historical works of the Danish and Swedish writers of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Nolte attempts in his contribution to show that it is more important to learn to appreciate 'art' and 'reality' than define them, because art is itself a reality in its manifold manifestations.

EDWARD H. SEHRT

George Washington University

The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama.

By PAUL S. CLARKSON and CLYDE T. WARREN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. xxvii + 346. \$3.50.

This admirable and, I should say, decisive book has many virtues. In the first place it is written by experts, two practising lawyers of Baltimore, who have spared no pains to inform themselves and the reader on the minutiae of Elizabethan property law. In the second place, it does not restrict itself to Shakespeare, but considers his legal allusions in relation to those of his dramatic contemporaries. In the third place, it sets up no thesis for or against the omniscient Shakespeare, but contents itself with a methodical analysis from which the conclusion emerges that Shakespeare was neither particularly accurate nor particularly profuse in his references to the law. The authors have discovered that "About half of Shake-

speare's fellows employed on the average more legalisms than he did" (p. 285). Their verdict on the "Shakespeare a lawyer" question is finally stated with great clarity, and is not likely to be doubted by anyone who reads the evidence they have compiled:

It is accordingly our conclusion that what law there is in Shakespeare can, indeed *must*, be explained upon some grounds other than that he was a lawyer, or an apprentice, or a student of the law. . . . We do not say, dogmatically, that William Shakespeare was not a lawyer, or that he had no legal education. As to that we are agnostic: as a matter of biographical fact, we simply do not know. But on the basis of our comparative studies, we do state categorically that the internal evidence from Shakespeare's plays is wholly insufficient to prove such a claim (p. 286).

There has, indeed, been little disposition in recent times to take seriously the idea of Shakespeare's legal profundity, except by persons committed to the belief that Shakespeare was Bacon, or persons, like the late Mr. Fripp, committed to the theory that he began life as a clerk in a Stratford law office. Lord Campbell's dogmatic monograph, *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements Considered* (1859), rates now as a Victorian extravagance, and finds no support in Edward J. White's *Commentaries on the Law in Shakespeare* (2nd ed., 1913), which, however, is more a dictionary of legal terms than a critique. The two most readable, though slender, books on the subject previous to that of Messrs. Clarkson and Warren are Sir Dunbar Plunket Barton's *Shakespeare and the Law* (1929) and Mr. G. W. Keeton's *Shakespeare and his Legal Problems* (1930). One is scrapbooky and professionally anecdotal, the other a collection of unrelated literary essays on such Shakespearean subjects as might attract a legal historian; but they did not even pave the way for the systematic investigation which the Johns Hopkins Press has now published.

It was a thoroughly sound, though back-breaking, decision of Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Warren to base their study upon the Elizabethan drama as a whole rather than on Shakespeare alone. They have examined nearly three hundred plays of the period, and have thus set Shakespeare's allusions in their proper perspective and provided them with many relevant parallels or supplements. It becomes clear from such treatment that Ben Jonson's use of legal terms was far more encyclopedic than Shakespeare's, and Middleton's much more accurate technically. Middleton, as one might have supposed, seems to have been the best lawyer among all the dramatists. For instance, "the best example of the form of a will in the entire Elizabethan drama is to be found in . . . *The Family of Love*" (p. 248).

The authors are severely professional in organizing their material and very clear in their legal definitions, but they do not forget that what Shakespeare and his colleagues wrote were plays, not legal reports. To the earlier critics who have condemned the wording of Caesar's will, as Antony digests it in his famous ora-

tion (*Julius Caesar* III, ii, 252 ff.), they most sensibly reply (p. 247):

The point seems to have been entirely missed that Antony is not quoting the will, which doubtless was drafted to conform to the apposite Roman law of that day, and, for all that anyone can now know, might have been quite satisfactory. . . . Neither Antony as an historical person, nor Shakespeare in portraying him as a dramatic character, would have been, under the circumstances prevailing, especially anxious about conformance with the legal niceties of testamentary phraseology, when the primary purpose of the language employed was incitement to riot and arson.

In continuation of the present work, the writers have in mind, and have already assembled material for, further volumes on such subjects as Equity, Marriage and Divorce, and Criminal Law. We wish them very well, for such a comprehensive survey would be of unquestionable value to all editors and students of the Elizabethan drama.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Mystical Methodology. By JOSEPH B. COLLINS, S.S., D.D., Ph.D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. xvi + 256. \$3.25.

This is a valuable piece of work because it opens up a subject of great interest with more care and sympathy than it has heretofore received. Nobody has ever suggested that the Elizabethan Age was one of the great ages of English mysticism, and it is doubtful if anybody ever will. But there was more mysticism in Elizabethan literature than most of us have suspected, and it is the distinctive merit of this book that it establishes that fact to a surprising degree.

Moreover, it does not do so, as one might fear, by taking that very elastic word "Mysticism" in the large and vague sense which so often in popular usage brings the most unlikely prospects into the contemplative sphere. Rather Dr. Collins does what every writer who undertakes to use a term so often abused should do, and that is to make clear, to begin with, what he means by "mysticism." This he does in an analytical survey of the history of western mysticism that has pretty nearly every merit except brevity. For as so often happens in the doctoral thesis of a careful student, the initial definition takes up rather too much of the total book, pretty nearly a third in actual number of pages. But while one may question the wisdom of prefacing so summary a treatment of the subject itself with an outline, however condensed, of mysticism from Plato to Bonaventure, Dr. Collins may fairly plead that the reader must be aware of the history of Graeco-Chris-

tian mysticism to appreciate the often implicit rather than explicit permeation of Elizabethan religious expression by the ideas and images of the great mystical writers.

Of that other common doctor's dissertation fault, the propensity to find evidence for one's thesis everywhere one turns, there is very little in this book. Probably the most striking example is the discussion of the widespread appreciation of Granada in England. The sources of purely literary appeal to the taste of the time to be found in Granada's work, especially when translated by a man like Francis Meres, are so obvious that it is not necessary to overestimate their religious appeal to account for their popularity. In general, however, the evidence which Dr. Collins presents easily bears out his thesis without strain, and he wisely resists the temptation to exaggerate the mystical importance of the works under discussion.

The principal fault in the treatment of the Elizabethan material, which is the main business of the book, is of another sort. It is, rather, an uncertainty of emphasis in the basic proportions of the discussion. The fact that Henry Constable receives two pages, and Henry Lok two against the not much more than six pages devoted to Southwell raises a doubt of the author's sense of proportion, and that is reenforced when it is discovered that Nicholas Breton receives over fourteen pages. The fact that the mystical character of Breton's work is not so widely known as that of Southwell's, and that his literary relations are more centrally involved and influential than the latter's, is, of course, to be taken into account, but it hardly justifies such disproportionate emphasis.

Closely allied to this unsteadiness of emphasis is the tendency to be pretty summary where certain matters of the psychology of the time are involved. The discussion of the reasons for the surprising hospitality of Elizabethan writers to mystical influences is a case in point. Dr. Collins accounts for this interesting phenomenon in the following paragraph:

The spirit and methodology of Christian mysticism made it readily acceptable to spiritually-minded writers during the Elizabethan period, when religious polemic was so bitter and widespread. Easily detached from all external ecclesiastical order, subjective in nature, Christian mysticism furnished a means of fervent and personal intercourse and union with God. The subject matter was found in Old and New Testament story; the Christocentric and Theocentric types of contemplation satisfied the partisans of the prevailing sects or creeds, and the three Ways of the spiritual life were open alike to Protestant and Catholic. (Pp. 80-81.)

Now this is quite correct, but it is pretty summary for so crucial a matter. It merely glances at the widespread weariness of controversy in the mind of the time and the growing awareness of its spiritual destructiveness, and it does very little with the important psychological fact that the mystic begins where the controversialist leaves off, taking the intellectual definitions that made so

much trouble at this time for granted. This is one of the basic and probably inevitable shortcomings of the pioneer book, a tendency to cover a good deal of ground pretty fast, a tendency unfortunate for a subject in which the nuances of personal psychology are so important. Saint Augustine and Julian of Norwich are both mystics, but they are very different types of human beings with very different backgrounds, and however much their experience may have in common, their descriptions will be basically different in substance and tone and flavor, in all those human qualities that are even more important for literature than for religion. It is, therefore, a pity that this author does not allow himself more time for the development of his discussion of the personal elements that make so vital a difference between the mystical writing of a Spenser and a Southwell. Of course, this is another way of saying that the author has attempted a good deal for so short a book.

But it would be distinctly ungrateful to end on this negative note. For this is a valuable piece of pioneer work, calling our attention to elements in sixteenth-century literature that have not by any means received the attention they merit. Especially is this book helpful in that it has set these elements in their historic context, reminding us afresh that in the midst of all the changes of the sixteenth century certain traditional influences persisted in both religion and literature to the great enrichment of the new movements in both fields. It is a very attractive distinction of Dr. Collins' book that a realization of this fact informs the whole undertaking with a broad and lively sympathy for writers and works of highly varied doctrinal commitments.

HELEN C. WHITE

University of Wisconsin

The Literary Relationships of Chaucer's Clerkes Tale. By J. BURKE SEVERS. New Haven: Yale University Press; New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1942 (*Yale Studies in English*, Vol. 96). Pp. xii + 376.

If any study of matters medieval may be regarded as definitive, here is one that certainly at first sight will impress all readers as closing the argument forever. Seldom has investigation of Chaucer's sources been managed with such thoroughness and such competence. The author reviews briefly the latest theories concerning the development of the Griselda story and in particular the tradition of Boccaccio's version of it. He then examines and classifies the known manuscripts of Petrarch's Latin tale in a survey for which he has consulted sixty-five of these and seven early prints. After a brief consideration of the possibility that Chaucer knew also the Italian form of the story in the *Decameron*, Professor

Severs takes up the French versions, and considers and classifies the twenty different manuscripts of the Anonymous Translation which played so large a part in the composition of the *Clerk's Tale*. For this review of the Latin and French documents he has visited "the principal libraries of Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and England" (p. vii), and one pauses to wonder when such a privilege may come to any of us again. He is at last able to indicate, with a remarkable degree of probability, the almost exact form of the Latin version that Chaucer used and also the French manuscript closest to the source. After an able chapter on the English poet's technique and originality, in which he shows Chaucer's increasing dependence on the French (with a ratio in lines of about five to three [p. 217]), he reprints his own edition of the French and Latin texts from his contribution to the *Sources and Analogues*, on pages facing each other, with a full list of variant readings including a special set "which come closer to the content or phraseology of Chaucer's poem than do the corresponding readings in the base" (p. 252). Textual notes on passages where "the manuscripts of the *Clerkes Tale* offer variant readings" are added "to help determine the true Chaucerian text . . ." (p. 358).

As one follows the details of this study, there appears little to find fault with in the author's methods. For obvious reasons in relation to Chaucer, the material regarding the compliment of Philippe de Mézières to Richard II, printed by Grace Frank in *MLN.*, LI (1936), 217 ff., should at the very least be mentioned, together with her important theory that Philippe is also author of the French play. The rigors of the Quentin system of classifying the manuscripts cannot be followed here, except to note again Mr. Severs's thoroughness. When, however, we discover at the end that manuscripts otherwise as far apart from the opposing groups as Cs and Chig must be explained as contaminated (Cs "slightly contaminated with Rc" and Chig "contaminated with family *a* and/or *b*," pp. 92-93 and 99), we feel, perhaps unfairly, as if we had been watching someone playing an ingenious game of solitaire who allowed himself just a little moment of cheating. We notice also that CC₄ seems to be another example (p. 115), since it contains the Job passage similar to one in Chaucer's version, although that is based on a manuscript of family *a*. Indeed we may wonder whether the anonymous French author (who worked from the 1373 text) did not have the passage in the copy of his work actually used for the *Clerk's Tale*, and so the question of family *a* could be dismissed in this connection. Perhaps here in this study the Quentin method is more corroborated by Mr. Severs's previous analysis than the other way about. With regard to specific references throughout the book, it is a pity, I think, that the Robinson text or that of Manly and Rickert was not used, but I note here

only one point of objection—the use of the spelling “Pavyk” for the Earl (pp. 131 and 244) which on all grounds should obviously be “Panik” (cf. note on 590, p. 359).

Less satisfactory than the other sections of the book is the reopening of the question regarding parallels from the *Decameron* and the *Ménagier*. Here the author is probably right in general but he pushes his argument a little. There is not much evidence that here he has himself made a fresh comparison with the *Decameron*. What he gives is a report on Farnham's paper, and he has taken a perceptible jump when he begins a paragraph by saying (p. 133) that of the parallels to the Italian not enough are left “to base any claim of Chaucer's dependence” and then (p. 134) concludes, “The notion that Chaucer may have been influenced” by Boccaccio's tale “may therefore be dismissed as untenable.” A more detailed account of the problem of Chaucer's knowledge of the *Decameron* is needed as a background for the statement, and to the material cited (p. 134, n. 19) may be added the article in *MLN.*, LIII (1938), 257-258. The possibility of influence, moreover, from marginal quotations seems to be ignored. And in the case of the *Ménagier*, the parallels must not be lost sight of, whatever they imply. To the material on the *Melibeus* (p. 176, n. 8) there should now be added reference to Mr. Severs's fine contribution on this subject in *Sources and Analogues*, 560 ff.

But in all these larger questions there can be no absolute answers. Although these points may not be forgotten, they do not alter the fact that here is a study of remarkable distinction. The format of the book is excellent; the apparatus, list of books, and index, are thoroughly satisfactory. I note only one misprint (p. 13, Pertarch for Petrarch). A number of points emerge of first rate importance that are almost certain to remain valid: first of all, that it is unlikely the *Clerk's Tale* was composed before 1379 or 1380 (p. 111), and the “date may be even much later.” I recall again Philippe de Mézières and his compliment to Richard and the play of 1395. The Marriage Cycle apparently got under way almost as late as that. I note the interesting coincidence that Philippe too once went on a mission to Bernabo Visconti (p. 127, footnote from the previous page) and that there is a striking parallel in passages in Boccaccio, De Mézières and Chaucer, so that Mr. Severs asks: “Could De Mézières' rendering of this passage have been influenced by the *Decameron*?” And he wonders whether on Philippe's diplomatic journey to Italy the Frenchman might not have picked up a copy (pp. 126-127, n. 4). This material indeed qualifies the inferences of the whole chapter, and starts a train of conjecture. Finally I would observe that in addition to the painstaking analysis of the manuscripts, Mr. Severs's study of Chaucer's originality, in its recognition of how Chaucer as usual intensifies the values of his sources and also adds signifi-

cant features so that Griselda is not a "spineless creature" (p. 236), shows insight and sensitiveness. Here it is fair to add that some changes are introduced less to make Griselda more pathetic or Walter seem harsher than to point a reference to the Wife of Bath, as in E. 621-623 with the ironic line "Wedded men ne knowe no mesure" (where we need find no echo of Boccaccio—cf. p. 232).

HOWARD R. PATCH

Smith College

Henry Lawes: Musician and Friend of Poets. By WILLA McCLUNG EVANS. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xvi + 250.

Poetic Diction in the Renaissance from Skelton through Spenser. By VERÉ L. RUBEL. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 312.

The Praise of Folly by Desiderius Erasmus. Translated . . . with Essay & Commentary by HOYT H. HUDSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xli + 166. \$2.50.

George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier, and Poet. By C. T. PROUTY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xii + 351. \$3.75.

The Modern Language Association may congratulate itself on having published two such worth-while studies as those of Miss Evans and Miss Rubel. Henry Lawes, the musician friend of Herrick, Waller, Milton, and many other poets, has now received his first adequate treatment. Miss Evans gives many new facts about his life and works, among them a full account of his connection with Milton's *Arcades* and *Comus*. She also gives further details about Lawes's musical setting for Shakespeare's sonnet 116, which she discovered and first published in 1936. Without committing herself she intimates that the Earl of Pembroke was the friend of Shakespeare's sonnets, and that he directed Lawes's attention to sonnet 116. Many less plausible notions have been advanced elsewhere; but, in the light of Pembroke's own reputation, it is a bit startling to find enumerated among his "various mistresses" two honored and virtuous ladies, Christiana, Countess of Devonshire, and Lucy, Countess of Bedford. Miss Evans's style is somewhat labored, and her pages are cluttered with verbose footnotes; but, on the whole, her book deserves hearty commendation.

Miss Rubel set herself the task of studying the attitude of sixteenth-century non-dramatic poets towards "poetic diction" and of analyzing in detail the ways in which they used rhetorical figures for ornamentation. She considers the verse of Skelton, the Tottel's *Miscellany* poets, Turberville, Howell, Sidney, Warner, Spenser, and others, reaching the conclusions that their diction shows an unbroken continuity from Chaucer to Spenser, and that formal rhetoric and figures became increasingly elaborate as the years passed by. Most of the points she makes and many of her illustrations will not be unfamiliar to students of the period, but never before has such a complete array of examples been brought together or such a painstaking analysis been made. It is instructive and amusing to read her discussion of "liptote," "soraismus," "tapi-nosis," and other figures which charmed the Elizabethans. The texts and authors are somewhat arbitrarily chosen, but there is little reason to suppose that a more inclusive choice would have altered her findings. Incidentally it is a relief to read a book on sixteenth-century poetry that makes no mention of Shakespeare.

In spite of its innumerable details Miss Rubel's monograph is remarkably free from errors. The eye is struck, however, by her unqualified statement that Turberville died in 1595. A reference here is desirable. Professor Hankins in his 1940 monograph on Turberville merely suggested the year 1597. Apparently, too, the author has overlooked the fact that Puttenham drew some of the material he castigates not directly from Turberville but from Timothy Kendall. Miss Rubel is scrupulously careful to credit other students with facts, ideas, even definitions that she uses. Very generously she makes the present reviewer roar in her footnotes and thunder in her index, so that it may sound ungracious to say that with pain he finds himself often directly quoted as having used the abbreviation *O. E. D.*

To a recent number of the *Philological Quarterly* (xx [1941], 250-265) Mr. Hudson contributed an erudite article enumerating in some detail the defects of the three best-known English translations of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, particularly the translation of White Kennett (1683, revised in 1913), the one most commonly read today. Now he has published his own version, which does for the present generation what Sir Thomas Chaloner's of 1549 did for sixteenth-century readers. The translation is charmingly phrased, and its accuracy, if one may judge from an altogether casual checking, seems beyond reproach. In his own comments, which turn out to be the best criticism yet written on the *Folly*, Mr. Hudson stresses the Lucianic influence on Erasmus's satire, provocatively outlines the latter as a typical classical oration, and provides it with interesting and learned notes as well as an annotated Index of Proper Names. The Princeton University Press has done an equally fine job, so that the book is a joy to read and to own.

Nothing but praise can be given to Mr. Prouty's *Gascoigne*, a learned and delightful book brimful of new facts and new interpretations. Wary readers often expect the worst when they see at the foot of half the pages of a volume the ominous abbreviations "PRO," "CSPD," and the like. But this author has a feeling for style and an interest in literature. While clearing up various puzzles—as of the date of his hero's birth, the strange episode of Elizabeth Bacon Breton Boyes Gascoigne and her three husbands, the circumstances connected with the publication of *A Hundreth Sundry Flowers*, the identities of various persons named George Gascoigne—he writes in a sprightly, readable fashion; and his critical discussion of Gascoigne's poems, plays, narratives, and moral books supersedes all that has previously been written about them. In particular, his critique of the "first English novel," *The Adventures of Master F. J.*, is so stimulating as almost to make one wish to reread the novel itself. Few great Elizabethans have been treated so adequately as this minor writer. With impatience we must await the edition of *A Hundreth Sundry Flowers* the author promises.

The Columbia University Press has, as usual, turned out a splendid example of book-making. Its editorial staff, however, should have been more considerate than to disfigure a review copy sent to *Modern Language Notes*. Lest its hideous red stamp (I've measured it from side to side, 'tis 1½ inches long and 3 inches wide) persist for years as a notable blot on Mr. Prouty's memorable book, all that remains is, after having read and admired the latter, to deposit it in the junkman's salvage basket.

Harvard University

HYDER E. ROLLINS

The Poetry of W. B. Yeats. By LOUIS MACNEICE. London [New York]: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 242. \$2.50.

One's first reading of this book moves one to commend it as an excellent introduction to, and commentary upon, the work of a very great and still too little appreciated poet. Further readings in Mr. MacNeice's book suggest a much more heavily qualified approval. For the lay reader the book will perform, and perform well, a necessary task. It sets the basic facts of Yeats' life, and, more important still, the basic facts of his career in some sort of order. It illuminates some of the brilliant and difficult poems, and it abounds in incidental comments, some of which are brilliant. All in all, it is probably as good a book as could be written in the short time which has elapsed since Yeats' death. Yet having said this, one is also constrained to say that it is a book which will be outmoded rather quickly. (I do not mean to be ungracious to Mr. MacNeice: I am quite willing to believe that the account of Yeats

which will replace this one may be written by MacNeice himself, as a new book or as a rather drastic revision of this one.)

One of the factors which makes this book unsatisfactory to my mind is a factor which the author undoubtedly hoped would render the book fresh and helpful to the reader. It is his rather frank interpretation of Yeats in terms of the new English poets. Mr. MacNeice is constantly telling us that this aspect of Yeats was attractive to himself and to poets like Auden and Spender, or that certain aspects of Yeats were of little use to them. But the reader who stands to gain most from Mr. MacNeice's book, the lay reader, will probably know even less about the poetry of MacNeice, Spender, and Auden than he knows about that of Yeats himself. On the other hand, the reader who knows enough about these poets to profit from these references will probably find them in places somewhat naïve. In any case, he will certainly have the main outlines of Mr. MacNeice's critical account in his head already.

The second great deficiency in this book is related to the first. Mr. MacNeice is very much interested, as the whole school to which he belongs has been, in the relation of art to society, poetry to science, etc. And Mr. Yeats' career as a man who dabbled in magic, set up queer private religious systems, and, late in life, leaned perilously close to fascism—this career makes it difficult for Mr. MacNeice to account for the goodness of the poetry. MacNeice's taste triumphs; Yeats is a very great poet in his opinion, and Mr. MacNeice's taste and his prejudices do him credit. But Mr. MacNeice is not always able to help the reader as much as he might on some of the problems of the relation of poetry to science and history. On these points, I can only say that Mr. MacNeice strikes me as honest, muddled, and a little naïve. For example, he finds himself hard put to it to account for the goodness of Yeats' poem in which Yeats yearns for the outbreak of war, and the badness of one of Rupert Brooke's poems in which Brooke expresses the same feeling at the outbreak of World War I. Thus he says of Brooke, "the sentiment, from our point of view, has been completely disproved by subsequent facts; Brooke was completely misrepresenting war. But that does not invalidate the sentiment as a sentiment." MacNeice is reduced to the expedient of saying that Brooke's poem is bad because he welcomes a vast mechanical war, whereas Yeats is thinking of a localized irregular war. Surely this is the very ecstasy of critical misunderstanding!

This passage is not quite fair to Mr. MacNeice's critical powers, but it may serve to suggest with what handicaps he is burdened when he attempts to deal with the problems of a poet so brilliant and difficult as Yeats, and yet a poet whose poetry at almost every point collides with current science, and current liberalism.

The Idiom of Poetry. (Being the Messenger Lectures, 1941.) By FREDERICK A. POTTLE. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1941. Pp. xi + 139. \$2.00.

Mr. Pottle excites me most by a bit of theorizing not prominently displayed yet, I think, central to his little book, and very valuable. It concerns the right of the poem to contain some prosaic elements, and pronounces: ". . . it occurs to me that the element of prose is innocent and even salutary when it appears as—take your choice of three metaphors—a background on which the images are projected, or a frame in which they are shown, or a thread on which they are strung. In short, when it serves a *structural* purpose." That is well put and we have needed it. The modern poets whom Mr. Pottle accepts because a "historian" has no choice, but does not like, ought to assure themselves that an unashamed prose element might pay very well for itself in their work. Indeed, there might be a converse proposition as follows: A poetry lacking in prosaic elements is likely to be amorphous. If Mr. Pottle does not put this last proposition, he means it, and proves it by a brilliant exposition of Wordsworth's early poem, *An Evening Walk*. It was written by a poet who loved nature, and is a big aggregate of close natural images; but to no purpose, because there is no connection among the images, and there is no connection because he has not yet come upon his famous philosophy of nature. After that happens, he will never have the difficulty again.

Few living critics can read a poem more thoroughly and surely than Mr. Pottle. He is master of his learning.

On the theoretical side, in spite of the triumph I have cited, I do not think Mr. Pottle has top rating. He tries all the current critical terms, though together they are not in agreement, and separately are rarely of philosophic concision. He regards poetic language as "naïve" and pre-logical; that is Croce's usage, but the history attributed to Wordsworth goes to show that poetry does not succeed till it has acquired its logic. And what is meant by the "heightening" of consciousness, especially in poetry which is naïve and therefore all but un-self-conscious? As for poetry's giving the "qualities of experience" while science is giving the "uses": are the uses not qualities? But what is "experience" in the first place? It is a difficult philosophical term, as I see it. And how does "expressive" describe non-scientific language if we are to gather only that it is the language which is not scientific? An argument about poetry cannot use these worn counters without quickly losing its own identity. By now it can be said that they obscure analysis as much as they illuminate it.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM

Kenyon College

Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyagers on Elizabethan Literature. By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 285. \$3.75.

Events in the recent past, especially events which have taken place during the months since Pearl Harbor, have brought home to all of us the character and importance of far places in terms of global war. In every daily newspaper dispatches and maps explaining our own, or our enemies', strategy make remote regions seem nearer; and we accustom ourselves to new interpretations of geography as we study diagrams showing the shortest routes from Tokio to Detroit or from Boston to Berlin. Before long, no doubt, we shall come to understand our distant neighbors better, as our fighting men return in numbers from Australia, India, China, Iceland, West Africa, Central and South America, as well as from Europe and the Middle East. And an enlargement of mind, of knowledge and sympathy, must result from these new contacts if we are to shape a better world. In our attempts to draw all human societies together into one community of understanding and of law we shall complete the movement begun in the Age of Discovery which we associate with the Renaissance.

Professor Cawley has given years to the study of the Elizabethans' concern with the new world brought into view during this Age of Discovery. To scholars interested in the Tudor and Jacobean periods his monograph on *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* has been useful as a mine of information and a storehouse of valuable references. *Unpathed Waters* is a companion volume in which the author "draws some of the conclusions and inferences for which the proof is found in the earlier publication."

It has seemed important to consider first what the Ancient World and Middle Ages bequeathed to Renaissance literature in the way of voyaging traditions. As a corollary, a study of the maps, early and later, was necessary. And then it was essential to devote one large section to the spirit which informed the whole great movement, as that spirit is revealed to us through the literature of the time. The mariner himself, together with his element, clearly required a separate study. Finally, it was obvious that the studies should culminate in an attempt to estimate just how the rich material so abundantly provided by the voyagers was utilized by some of the characteristic literary figures (p. vii).

In carrying out this program Professor Cawley has begun well with an interesting and informative account of how mediaeval legends of the Fortunate Islands, the Terrestrial Paradise, Ophir and Ultima Thule, the Lost Atlantis, and their like, came to share a place with accounts of lands newly discovered in the minds of poets and their readers. Thus we are again shown what is abundantly clear from other evidence—that the new thought of the Renaissance was deeply tinged with that of the Middle Ages. A

similar combining of the two traditions is described in the section on maps. Cartography, in the period of which Professor Cawley writes, was undergoing a variety of developments, and its novelties were—and are—endlessly fascinating. Like other productions of the New Science they gave occasion for much witty and metaphorical thinking on the part of the poets, and called forth speculations typical of the age, e. g. Bishop Hall's remark, "What a poor little spot is a country! A man may hide with his thumb the great territories of those that would be accounted monarchs." (P. 97.)

As Professor Cawley proceeds to his next sections one of the less satisfactory features of his plan becomes evident. He has chosen to discuss the spirit of the voyagers only as that spirit is romantically and patriotically presented in plays and other imaginative literature, not as it is found in the writings of projectors and sailor folk themselves. The spirit which he describes, then, is a spirit much transmuted: though how much, and in what ways, transmuted the reader is left to conjecture. Similarly the drama is made to yield up what it contains of nautical language and sea customs; but it is not sufficiently remarked that writers in general were not themselves sea-farers, eaters of bad beef and drinkers of stale beer, or that they missed opportunities for the fuller realism which would have made their studies of life afloat deeply impressive and convincing in our modern age. Finally, in commenting upon characteristic uses of the voyagers, Professor Cawley easily proves that a relatively early writer like Greene allowed much geographical error to stand in his works without much distressing readers who, before the effect of Hakluyt was fully felt, were not well informed, while Dekker, on the other hand, developed a gift for accurate description and showed a sound sense for geographical realities. Beaumont and Fletcher, it appears, were usually content with generalities and conventions when they wrote of the sea; Heywood, on the contrary, has a much saltier tang, and could convincingly describe the management of a vessel and the conduct of its crew even though his references to faraway places are disappointingly vague. As for Shakespeare, who preferred to take his marine pictures from the vantage point of land, he "shows no unusual knowledge of foreign animals, peoples, countries, such knowledge as could be gathered from a close reading of the very considerable voyage literature which had been written by his time." (P. 239.) Bacon, naturally enough, regarded the data supplied by the travel books chiefly as material on which to base scientific speculation; and Davenant's range of reference and comparative accuracy seem to supply indices of the general increase of geographical knowledge which had taken place in the course of two generations.

These conclusions, in the light of the evidence presented, are entirely acceptable, yet a little disappointing. The reader is likely to close *Unpathed Waters* with the feeling that while it provides a

learned and illuminating commentary on many passages in Elizabethan literature, those passages are too seldom inspired by the thorough reading, or by the penetrating insight that would have revealed the full meaning of the wonders suggested by the voyagers' accounts. The realms of gold were not as fully exploited as they might have been; the sea change should more often have produced something really rich and strange.

University of Michigan

WARNER G. RICE

The Rochester-Savile Letters, 1671-1680. Edited with an introduction and notes by JOHN HAROLD WILSON. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 127. \$1.75.

Students of the Restoration will welcome this annotated edition of the Rochester-Savile correspondence. Although all the letters contained in it have been printed before, Professor Wilson's notes increase their usefulness considerably. His introduction, which corrects several errors of previous biographers, provides a valuable outline of the correspondents' lives.

In textual matters, unfortunately, the book is much less satisfactory. Seventeen of the letters are said to be reprinted 'from the first edition of *Familiar Letters* (1697).' We are confused, however, when Professor Wilson refers to this source by the title of the *second* edition (page vii). Moreover, a collation of his text with that of the first edition reveals several discrepancies in punctuation. In Letter IX (page 40), to cite an important example, the sense of the first sentence is ruined by an odd punctuation unjustified by any edition I know. If Professor Wilson has actually found a copy with these peculiarities, the irregular title should have been enough to put him on his guard.

The confusion does not end here. What, for instance, is the edition 'of 1698,' referred to on page 107? It is not recorded in Prinz's bibliography, nor is it mentioned elsewhere by Professor Wilson. Furthermore, the collation of the text in *Rochester's Works* (1714), as represented in the notes, is sketchy and inconsistent.

I cannot criticize the collating of the second edition of *Familiar Letters* since the Harvard College Library has only a 'variant' of this edition, not recorded by Prinz. If Professor Wilson's collation of the 'standard' edition can be relied on, the Harvard copy differs from it in more than title page. It is regrettable that Professor Wilson has not noted this unrecorded edition and established its proper place beside the others. It is even more regrettable, in view of the unsettled bibliography of the *Familiar Letters*, that he has not done a better job of editing.

FRANCIS WHITFIELD

*The Society of Fellows,
Harvard University*

The Dickens World. By HUMPHRY HOUSE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. 224. \$3.00.

By a coincidence which reflects a trend in literary study, there appeared in 1941 two works on Dickens, Mr. House's book and Mr. Edmund Wilson's essays in *The Wound and the Bow*, which unite authoritative knowledge of social history with literary taste and judgment. No longer must those interested in Dickens's social perceptions and opinions who read no foreign language take their choice of amateurs varying from the brilliant unreliability of G. K. Chesterton to the Marxian dogmatism of Mr. T. A. Jackson, while literary scholars fail to draw upon authorities in economic and political history like the Webbs, the Hammonds, Clapham, Wallas, Halévy and G. M. Young.

Mr. House attempts to show "the connexion between what Dickens wrote and the times in which he wrote it, between his reformism and some of the things he wanted reformed, between the attitude to life shown in his books and the society in which he lived." This enterprise has required the utmost tact and discrimination, for Dickens was not an intellectual or a doctrinaire, and had little scruple as to anachronisms. He explicitly dated *Little Dorrit* in the eighteen-twenties, but two of its most prominent themes, the Circumlocution Office and the Merdle boom, were topical in the 'fifties, when the novel was written. Dickens's social thought, which has momentary affinities with the Benthamites, with Carlyle, and with Lord Ashley and the sentimental humanitarians, led Mr. G. M. Young to dismiss him as "equally ready to denounce on the grounds of humanity all who left things alone, and on the grounds of liberty all who tried to make them better"; but Mr. House makes the important qualification: "This is on the whole true of the novels, less true of the short stories, and hardly true at all of the occasional journalism and the speeches." Quotations from his articles and addresses reveal a Dickens bolder and more trenchant than the audience of the novels would permit: his comments in 1848 upon the philanthropy-veiled imperialism of the Niger Expedition are astonishing for insight into the psychology of a savage people. Mr. House is equally discerning in tracing Dickens's growing awareness of capitalism as an increasingly impersonal system, which is shifting present-day attention to the later novels. Accurate perception of the novelist as a class-conscious bourgeois (who sent his sons to Eton) leads to a fresh estimate of *Great Expectations*. The chapter on Politics finds in Dickens "a strong authoritarianism" similar in origin to Carlyle's. To "the emotional deficiency of the civilization he lived in" is traced the shallowness and colorlessness of his religion: "one of the chief causes of his success as a popular moralist and reformer was the skill with which he struck a good religious note without

committing himself beyond the common stock of Christian phrases." But the effectiveness of the novelist as a social reformer Mr. House finds sharply limited by his enforced respect for the prudishness in language which was "a protective blind against some of the worst evils that industrial society was generating"; and he proves the point for our more plain-spoken era by appalling quotations from contemporary documents. Mr. House has not written a text-book but a highly concentrated, subtle, and allusive interpretation which will benefit readers in proportion to what they already know of Dickens and his times.

EMERY NEFF

Columbia University

Introduction to the English Language. By ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xviii + 347. \$2.15.

This book should put every department of English in Professor Marckwardt's debt. Planned for use in undergraduate classes and therefore not concerned with extending the bounds of learning, it is nevertheless more valuable than many works that pass for contributions to knowledge. The six chapters treat the Sounds of English, English Grammar, English Vocabulary, Early Modern English, Middle English, and Old English—material that one might expect, though the welcome emphasis on EMdE is a departure from tradition. And "the crabwise progression" by which the development of the language is traced is new and sound, for surely the undergraduate will find it easier to work from the known to the unknown when even graduate students occasionally find themselves lost in their study of OE because they know little of what happened to the language between the time of Alfred and their own day.

The stress on the inductive method distinguishes this book from others in the same field, and therein lies its chief value. Each chapter is divided into a number of parts which the educators would call lesson units. These, in turn, are made up of the author's comments, which regularly take into account the most significant results of recent linguistic study; exercises, in which the student observes linguistic phenomena, classifies them, and generalizes from them; and suggestions for additional reading. Thus, by careful study the student acquires a thorough knowledge of the language by writing his own history of it, and at the same time he learns his way around in the literature of the field and develops the invaluable habit of using the dictionary.

In so short a review as this, detailed comment is impossible. The third chapter, however, might have been strengthened by the inclusion of a section on miscellaneous borrowings—those not from Greek, Latin, French, Scandinavian, and Celtic—so that the varied

sources of the English vocabulary would be all the more emphasized; and I wish that there were a section on the differences between British and American English. But as it stands, I should like to see this book studied by every English major in the country, especially by those who intend to teach in the high schools.

HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF

Louisiana State University

The Writings of Wilfred Scawen Blunt: An Introduction and Study.

By SISTER MARY JEAN REINEHR, O. S. F., Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Marquette University Press, 1940. Pp. x + 223. \$2.50.

This monograph is meticulous and accurate if somewhat dry. But Blunt—aristocrat, little-Englander and anti-imperialist, political firebrand, irregular Catholic, almost Mohammedan, Arabian explorer, sympathiser with Indian and Egyptian struggles for freedom, active opponent of England's Irish policies, breeder of Arabian horses, poet, friend of most of the distinguished writers of his time, lover, *bon viveur*, inveterate pamphleteer—transcends such treatment.

The method of Sister Reinehr is to take up one by one the individual works of Blunt in the long list—three pages plus in the bibliography—summarising the contents and adding brief comments. The result is no doubt useful; for few, including the present reviewer, have ever read all the books and articles. This is especially the case in regard to the volumes on India, Egypt and Ireland. But the method is unsatisfactory when applied to the poetry. For example:

The simple lyric 'Twenty Days' treats of love's conquest by contrasting the poet's idea of the influence of women before and after he has fallen in love. The final stanza shows how completely the lover is overpowered.

Fortune, fame, I freely give,
Honour's self, if so she please,
Sweetly in her smile to live
Other twenty days like these.

The verse form here and lack of concreteness weakens [sic] the effect which should result from a theme suggestive of much intensity. The alliteration assists in emphasizing the thought, but the recurrence of sibilants is hardly musical.

There is no attempt to illuminate the poems by peering into the inspiration, the essence of the mind back of the form, to discover the man speaking. In the same way, the Diaries—among the most lively and revealing of the entire period—are used merely for information.

There is almost no effort to relate Blunt's work to his time and its movements, except as his political writings are of the moment and his Diaries are a running comment upon his day. But his poetry, which is so close to Rossetti, Meredith, Browning and Swinburne, even though it has a vigor all its own, could well have been related closely to contemporary currents of thought and feeling. Yet the monograph is valuable for reference, despite its lack of insight and scope.

HORACE A. EATON

Syracuse University

BRIEF MENTION

First Editions of the German Romantic Period in American Libraries. Edited by FREDERICK W. J. HEUSER. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1942. Pp. viii + 48. 50 cents. A master list, based on Goedeke's *Grundriss* and compared with the catalog of the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin, was sent to more than a hundred American libraries, with the request that they check the items contained in their respective collections. The list compiled by Professor Heuser from these reports is thus a Union Catalog of first editions of German Romantic authors in this country. Titles not located in any of the libraries were nevertheless quite properly retained in the list, whose bibliographic value is thereby enhanced. A number of these missing works are in the possession of the reviewer: Arnim, Bettina von, *Ilius Pamphilus*, Leipzig, 1848; Arnim, Ludwig von, *Schaubühne*. Band 1, Berlin, 1813; Bernhardi, Sophie, *Dramatische Fantasieen*, the exact title being: *Dramatische Fantasieen von Sophie Bernhardi geb. Tieck*. Berlin. In der Realschulbuchhandlung. 1804; Görres, Jos. von, *Zum Jahresgedächtnis des 20. November 1837*, Regensburg, 1838; [Tieck, Ludwig,] *Thaten und Feinheiten renomirter Kraft- und Kniffgenies*. Berlin, 1790, 1791. An omission from the list is: Görres, Jos. von, *Der Dom von Köln und das Münster von Strassburg*, Regensburg, 1842. The title of Sophie Bernhardi's book is not: *St. Evremont. Roman*. but: *Evremont. Ein Roman . . .* Breslau, 1836. The very first edition of Zacharias Werner's *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* is in the *Taschenbuch Urania* for 1815, which appeared in 1814, ahead of the book edition of 1815. These additions and corrections are not intended as a criticism of Heuser's work, dependent as he was on the collaboration of so many others: his book remains an indispensable tool of the scholar interested in the Romantic Period.

W. KURELMMEYER

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

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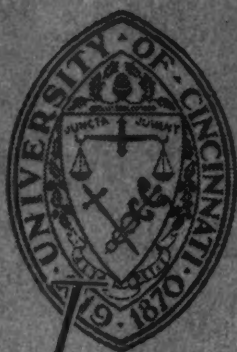
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